

SOME UNIVERSALS OF HONORIFIC LANGUAGE
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO JAPANESE

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ABSTRACT

This examination of several languages permits the identification of universal characteristics of honorific forms, as well as possible explanations for those universals. The Japanese honorific system is described in some detail and contrasted with the honorific systems of ten other languages which are more briefly described: Javanese, Madurese, Thai, Korean, Dzongkha, Tibetan, Hindi, Malayalam, Kannada, and Guugu Yimidhirr. Data from those eleven languages explains how honorifics appear and spread through languages.

An examination of Japanese indicates certain restrictions governing which parts of the vocabulary are elaborated as honorifics. Those restrictions are primarily semantic, although a few lexical and phonological factors must also be considered.

Certain regularities in the appearance of honorifics could be observed in all of the languages. The honorific forms are always marked compared to the ordinary forms. Reference type honorifics always appear in a language prior to the addressee type. Reference honorifics appear first in a language in the semantic domains related to means, and the elaboration of honorific forms occurs

in a certain implicational order. Naming (e.g., with titles) occurs first, followed by the elaboration of pronouns, verbs, nouns, and other parts of speech. All languages containing reference honorifics appear to elaborate parts of speech in that order. Among reference honorifics, the presence of non-actor forms always indicates the presence of actor forms. These synchronic implicational statements about honorifics have diachronic significance.

In accounting for universal honorific forms, a limited set of explanations are necessary. These include general cognitive processes such as marking and degree of salience and common cultural behavior. For example, the concepts of power and solidarity can be used to describe a cultural universal of personal relations both linguistically and non-linguistically.

The degree of elaboration of honorifics in different languages is also explained. The presence of honorifics in non-kinship based societies depends on a vertically organized social structure and ideology. In addition, the internal structure of the language may also affect the extent of honorific elaboration. If reference honorifics in a given language function to disambiguate NPs in discourse, they are elaborated to a greater extent than in languages where they only index social relationships.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In recent years there has been an increased interest in language universals. In the field of linguistics, this interest has been partially generated by transformational grammarians who have concentrated on universal phonetic and syntactic features of human language. Other linguists, such as Greenberg, have extended language universals to include implicational and statistical relations. Scholars of sociological and anthropological backgrounds have focused on the interface between language usage and social interaction. Dell Hymes, for example, has included in "communicative competence" all of the social and situational variables that persons manipulate in speaking. Anthropologists have traditionally differentiated between culturally specific devices and those which have cross-cultural validity.

One place where these approaches have intersected is in the area of so-called honorific language. Transformational grammarians have used honorific forms as a basis for proposing particular grammatical analyses. Harada (1975) has defined transformational rules for honorification, and has shown how those rules operate in

cycles. Shibatani (1978) has used Japanese honorifics to identify the category subject. Universals of politeness language have also attracted the interest of sociolinguists (Lakoff, 1972; Brown and Levinson, 1978) and will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

Statement of Purpose

The goal of this dissertation is to examine several languages in order to identify universal characteristics of honorifics. Honorific language is composed of lexical or syntactic forms which denotatively contain the same meaning as other forms, except for an added component of politeness which functions as an index of asymmetrical relationships. These politeness forms can signal respect toward the referent, addressee, and/or bystander, depending on the language.

The nature of respect which is conveyed by honorifics is not easy to characterize. While honorifics are primarily a public symbol of respect, they do not necessarily indicate a "real attitude" of respect. Respect is often based on social distance, a concept which involves the dimensions of solidarity and status (Brown, 1965: 11-78). The degree of solidarity and relative status of the speaker, hearer, and bystander determine who shows respect to whom. This behavior is not only limited to

verbal expression, but also includes non-verbal symbols such as the Japanese custom of bowing.

All languages have the means to express politeness, both verbally and non-verbally. Some languages use grammatical structures that connote politeness implicitly. For example, a request in English such as "Would you mind opening the window?" is more polite than the direct order "Open the window." Rewording the command as a question is less direct and consequently more polite (Brown and Levinson, 1978). Other languages have lexical and/or syntactic structures which explicitly encode politeness (i.e., honorifics). Such a language is Japanese, in which the choice of different lexical items or syntactic structures can signal respect to the referent or addressee.

However, not all languages contain honorific systems, and the extent of their occurrence in particular languages varies greatly. Comparing the degree of honorific elaboration in different languages provides clues to the possible existence of universal principles. The comparative data may suggest, for instance, that honorific forms tend to appear in the same semantic domains, that different types (e.g., reference, addressee, and bystander) tend to develop in the same order, and that honorifics appear and disappear in languages according to similar patterns of usage.

Universals of honorific language are but one of a number of types of language universals. The purpose for gathering data on honorific language that may be universal in nature is to examine the possible causes for this commonality. Are humans "wired" in a genetically predetermined way so that these universal features occur in all languages? Or is their commonality due to a communicative need which is universally present? This study of honorific universals will therefore contribute to our understanding of the possible origins of language universals.

Statement of Research Problem

This research focuses on how honorifics are elaborated in languages and why honorific universals exist. It is necessary first to demonstrate that honorifics exist as a category of language universals. This can be proved by identifying different types and similarities of usage in various languages. The shape and functions of the honorific forms also need to be demonstrably similar. It is, of course, necessary to demonstrate that honorifics in various languages are actually similar enough that diverse phenomena are not being forced into the same categories.

Three types of honorifics have been suggested: reference, addressee, and bystander (Comrie, 1976). These forms appear in response to the relative status of the referent, addressee, or bystander. Reference honorifics

can be further divided into actor and non-actor types. Actor honorifics are triggered by an NP (Noun Phrase) which is usually the subject of a sentence, and non-actor types are triggered by an NP which is in some other grammatical relation such as an object. The implicational relationship between types needs to be examined. For instance, does the presence of addressee honorifics in a language imply the presence of the reference type, and does the presence of the non-actor type implicate the presence of actor honorifics?

In addition to looking for implicational relationships among types of honorifics, we can also study the parts of speech that are honorifically elaborated in different languages. Terms of address are frequently elaborated (Brown and Ford, 1961), and the T and V distinction for second person pronouns has been widely documented (Brown and Gilman, 1960). Verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs are also elaborated in some languages. The implicational ordering of the different parts of speech also needs to be investigated. For instance, does the honorific elaboration of pronouns presuppose elaboration of terms of address, or the elaboration of verbs imply the elaboration of pronouns?

Semantic elaboration is another area of possible commonality among languages. Some languages have a set of

lexical items for which there are no honorific equivalents while another set does have honorific equivalents. For example, the Javanese verb mangan, 'to eat,' has the reference honorific equivalent ndahari, but noto, 'to arrange,' does not have an honorific equivalent. Similarly the Japanese noun hashi, 'chopsticks,' can appear with the honorific prefix o-, but sekitan, 'coal,' cannot have an honorific prefix. Therefore, honorification in different semantic domains needs to be studied for possible similarities cross-linguistically.

The universals among honorific systems can be related to patterns of change in honorifics. The nature of those patterns and how they relate to observed historical development will be examined. Since some languages have extensive honorific systems while others do not, reasons for honorific development in a language will also be investigated.

Methodological Overview

In order to establish honorifics as a cross-linguistic category, a number of languages that have been described in linguistic literature as having extensive honorific systems will be sampled. Japanese will be studied in detail, and then compared with Javanese, Madurese, Thai, Korean, Dzongkha, Tibetan, Hindi, Malayalam, Kannada, and Guugu Yimidhirr. The availability of written

sources and/or consultants dictated this selection of languages. Several consultants were used for Japanese, and one each for the other languages. No consultant was available for Guugu Yimidhirr, but excellent written sources exist. The consultants for Madurese and Tibetan were not native speakers.

The research method employed in this study relies primarily on written descriptions of the languages and intuitions of the consultants. The consultants were asked to check information gathered from written sources and to fill in knowledge that was not adequately covered. They were also requested to construct sentences in described situations in order to determine whether or not honorifics would be triggered and what types of honorifics the language contained. To check the accuracy of their descriptions and sample sentences (especially where written descriptions were inadequate), the consultants were requested to find samples of honorific usage in modern fiction and drama when available.

Definitions and Assumptions

Language universals are defined here as features present in all languages. By extension, implicational relations and statistically significant relations are also viewed as universals. The universals posited in this study

would apply to all languages that have honorific systems, and they are implicational in nature.

It is assumed that language universals can be identified without examining all human languages. On the basis of a sample of languages (including unrelated ones), it is possible to suggest plausible universals which make possible correct predictions about other languages not yet examined. Of course, the universals may later need to be modified on the basis of additional information.

CHAPTER 2

SURVEY OF LITERATURE ON LANGUAGE UNIVERSALS

Morphological or lexical honorific items are greatly elaborated in some languages. The regularities in these honorific systems, as well as possible reasons for these regularities, are the subject of this study. Before focusing on honorifics, however, it is important to examine the literature on language universals in general. This chapter will present an overview of language universals that have already been proposed, and the reasons that have been suggested for those universals.

In the section on proposed universals, the differing approaches to their study will be discussed, focusing on the work of Noam Chomsky and Joseph Greenberg (with emphasis on Greenberg's approach, since his methodology will be used in the following chapters). A description of various kinds of lexical honorifics will follow, and the section will conclude with a more detailed discussion of sociolinguistic and politeness universals.

Proposed Language Universals

Chomsky and Greenberg on Universals

Ferguson (1978) has distinguished between linguistic universals and language universals in order to categorize the way research has historically been conducted. The concept of linguistic universals in the Chomskian tradition was first used to describe the properties that are present in the generative grammar of any language (Katz and Postal, 1964; and Chomsky, 1965). The concept of language universals was first used by Aginsky and Aginsky (1948), and later, in the Greenbergian tradition, it came to describe empirically observable generalizations about language structure. The distinction between the two is somewhat artificial, but will be observed here in order to facilitate discussion.

Methodologically, Chomsky has relied on the intuitions of individual native speakers to find absolute syntactic universals. Much of his research has focused on the English language. Greenberg on the other hand has examined large samples of languages and broadened the definition of universals to include implicational and statistically significant relationships. In more recent years these two research methods have begun to be synthesized (e.g., in Greenberg's Universals of Human Languages, 1978).

Linguistic Universals

Chomsky's approach focuses on linguistic universals which he has more recently termed "universal grammar" (Chomsky, 1980:69). He defines universals as the necessary properties of any possible human language. Universal grammar is made up of the set of properties and conditions that are inherent in the language learner at birth. It not only expresses the essence of human language, but also specifies "what language learning must achieve, if it takes place successfully." (Chomsky, 1975:29).

Chomsky has classified universals as either formal or substantive in nature. His theory of substantive universals asserts that "items of a particular kind in any language must be drawn from a fixed class of items." (Chomsky, 1965:28). This includes universal phonetics and syntax. Chomsky claims that binary phonetic features can distinguish all of the sounds employed in human language and that all languages contain the syntactical categories of verb, noun, etc. Formal universals are of a more abstract nature than substantive ones, and they involve the character of rules of grammar and their interconnectedness. (For examples, see Chomsky, 1965:29; and Culicover, Wasow, and Akmajian, 1977.)

Chomsky's theories about universals have significantly influenced linguistic research for the past

several decades. His own views on syntax have evolved during that time from the Standard Theory to the Extended Standard Theory to the current Revised Extended Standard Theory. However, other grammarians have rejected the centrality of syntax, and have included meaning (e.g., generative semantics) in their theories. Case or grammatical relations have also been suggested as universal features of grammar (Fillmore, 1968; and Cole and Sadock, 1976). More recently, Van Valin and Foley (1980:338) have proposed "a single fundamental universal semantic opposition of Actor and Undergoer" in their Role and Reference grammar. Although important progress has been made in identifying grammatical universals, no overall theory has yet been formalized to account for them.

Language Universals

According to the memorandum presented to the Conference on Language Universals, at Dobbs Ferry, New York in 1961, "language universals are by their very nature summary statements about characteristics or tendencies shared by all human speakers," (Greenberg, 1966a:xv). Greenberg (1966a:xix-xxi) says that there are two logical types of universals: those that are absolute, and those that depend on probability. Absolute universals include those that are unrestricted, those with universal implications, and those with restricted implications.

Probability universals include those that are statistical, those that have statistical correlations, and those that have frequency distributions.

Unrestricted universals, says Greenberg (1966a:xix), "are characteristics possessed by all languages which are not merely definitional." Examples include such obvious facts as the presence of vowels in all languages. Also included are statements about the relative frequency of lexical or linguistic elements (see Comrie, 1981).

Universal implications always involve the relationship between two characteristics such that if a language has characteristic (x), then it also has another characteristic (y), but not necessarily vice versa. An example of this is found among number systems where a language that has a category of dual also has a category of plural, but the presence of plural does not necessarily indicate the presence of dual.

Restricted equivalents occur infrequently and are similar to universal implications except that both characteristics imply the presence of the other. An example from South Africa is the implication of a dental click in a language containing lateral clicks and vice versa.

A second logical type is the probability universal or statistical universal which refers to a certain characteristic having a greater than probable chance of

occurring compared to some other characteristic (often its own negative). For example, suffixing occurs more frequently among the world's languages than infixing. Statistical correlations refer to the relationship between two variables where the presence of variable (a) implies a greater than chance probability that a second variable (b) will also occur. An example can be found in gender distinctions where if gender distinctions are made in the second person, then they are usually made in the third person also.

Finally, universal frequency distributions refer to measurements that are statistically significant in a sample of the world's languages. Means, standard deviations, and the like can be considered universal facts about languages.

In addition to these logical types of universals, and transcending their categories, is the substantive content of the universals including those that are phonological, grammatical, semantic, and symbolic. The first three involve only form or meaning, not both; however, the last one involves both because it deals with sound symbolism. An example of a grammatical universal that is statistical in form is the prevalence of suffixing over infixing. This deals only with form, not with the particular sounds employed. An example of a statistical symbolic universal is that there is a high probability that a female

parent will be referred to with a word containing a nasal consonant. Thus the symbolism depends on both sound and meaning (Greenberg, 1966a:xxi-xxii).

Synchronic universals have also been shown to have diachronic consequences in that they constrain the change process. In the synchronic approach, Greenberg's method has been to carefully analyze a particular feature found among languages and then compare it to the possible types that may not occur. The logically possible but non-occurring types provide a constraint on what synchronic form will occur. In the same way diachronic generalizations are a constraint on the changes that can occur in a language through time. Including the diachronic dimension along with the traditional synchronic emphasis provides new possibilities for historical linguistics (Greenberg, 1978:166).

Greenberg (1978:173-75) proposes the notion of a "state-process model" of language. This starts from an examination of the synchronic types within a state and then asks what process is involved in moving from one type to another. The borderline cases provide the information then, about the path of change from one type to another. The borderline cases that are problematic for the synchronic analysis are precisely the ones that provide the necessary information to understand how one type may change

to another. A change from State A to State B over time may occur in more than one way; consequently, probabilistic statements can be made about these changes.

Greenberg (1978:III49f) illustrates this diachronic process in discussing the appearance and disappearance of gender systems which are a kind of noun classification. Using a large sample of languages, he finds that classification among demonstratives tends to produce noun agreement which then often develops into a gender system. The process involves the stages: 1) definite article, 2) non-generic article, and 3) noun marker. The classifying demonstratives arise, Greenberg speculates, from the numeral classifier systems. These classifier systems which exist in some languages have been known to spread to the demonstrative. The reason Greenberg (1978:III78-79) gives for this is that "the fundamental basis of contrast, animate and inanimate, human and non-human, male and female, tend to occur in demonstratives, third person pronouns, and interrogatives as a guide to identification." Thus the speaker's need to identify the relevant NPs is the force that eventually leads to noun classification systems. This is an example of the "state-process model" where the presence and absence of gender systems can be shown to be two opposites with a process of change existing between them via demonstratives.

Lexical Universals

The linguistic and language universals discussed so far have primarily dealt with the phonological and syntactic components of language, but during the past decade there has been increased attention given to lexical universals. Lexical universals that have been examined include terms for colors, folk biology, kinship, body parts, and cooking. Certain regularities have also been noted in the metaphorical extension of meaning.

The lexical universals mentioned above are often of two types: partonomies and taxonomies. Partonomies are terms which are associated with each other in a "part of" relationship. That means that a perceptual space is partitioned and each term covers part of the whole (e.g., body parts). Taxonomies are terms which are associated with each other in a "kinds of" relationship, where at each level the terms are "kinds of" the superordinate term. Trees and grasses are kinds of the superordinate term of plants; oak and maple are kinds of the superordinate term of tree, and so forth. Folk biology and cooking terms are also examples of taxonomies.

Until Berlin and Kay studied the phenomenon (1969), color terminology was viewed as an area of cultural relativism. Gleason (1961:40) stated what many linguists believed: "There is a continuous gradation of color from

one end of the spectrum to the other. There is nothing inherent either in the spectrum or the human perception of it which would compel its division in this way." However, Berlin and Kay found that although speakers of languages disagreed on the boundaries between color words, they did find uniformity among languages when they looked at color focal points. They also found that all languages have "eleven basic perceptual color categories or less." These colors are encoded in the history of a language in a fixed order. They claim (see Figure 1) that if a language has only two basic color terms, they will be black and white. If a language has three, the third will always be red. The fourth and fifth will be either green or yellow appearing in either order.

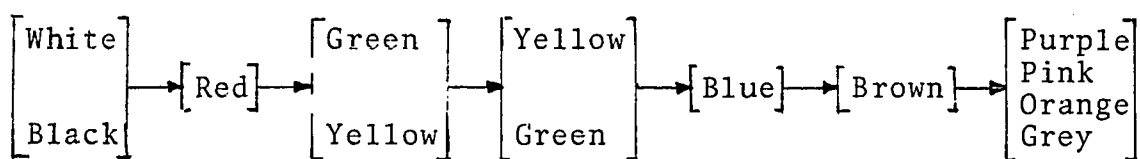


Figure 1. Encoding sequence of basic color terminology (Berlin and Kay, 1969)

During the 1970s additional data was collected from a variety of languages which supported the basic findings of Berlin and Kay, although some modifications are suggested (see Witkowski and Brown, 1978; and Bornstein,

constrains the type of basic color terms that are possible in a language.

Subsequent to Berlin and Kay's findings about color terms, universals in other lexical domains such as botanical life forms have been proposed. Brown (1977) found that five life forms appear in languages, and these five appear in a highly regular fashion.

The stages in Figure 3 represent the growth of folk vocabulary for botanical life forms which are cover terms for groups of plants. (Only one language out of one hundred five languages examined by Witkowski and Brown lacked any cover term for categories of botanical life forms.) In stage two, languages have a term for "tree" but not for "grerb," "bush," "vine," or "grass." "Grerb" (which represents a small, green leafy, non-woody type plant) appears next in languages, followed by terms for "bush," "vine," and "grass" in no particular order.

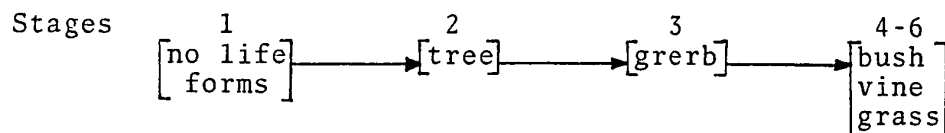


Figure 3. Encoding sequence of botanical terminology (Witkowski and Brown, 1978:434)

A similar elaboration of terminology occurs with folk zoology forms. The first three terms that appear in any language are "fish," "bird," or "snake." The next stage in the language has a term for "wug" which represents small residual animals. Only after these four terms exist does "mammal" (which includes all large residual animals) appear in the language (see Figure 4).

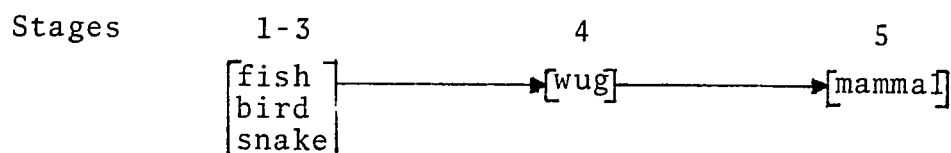


Figure 4. Encoding sequence of folk zoological terminology (Witkowski and Brown, 1978:438)

Anthropologists have long been fascinated with kinship terminology because it provides a set of data which can be compared cross-culturally. It was found that "relatives" of ego were not grouped in a random arbitrary fashion, but rather certain types of groupings existed. Some of these major groupings were given names such as "Crow," "Omaha," "Hawaiian," and "Eskimo," (cf. Fox, 1967) to distinguish them although the enormous variation of types was stressed.

Witkowski (1971) found in an analysis of kinship terminology that semantic distinctions tend to occur in hierarchically ordered sets that are implicationally related. He claims that a universal semantic "deep structure" underlies all terminological systems used for kinsmen. He does not deny that there is surface diversity of terms, but insists that that diversity is in fact severely limited.

Brown (1976:403) discusses human anatomical partonomy and lists a number of universals which are similar to folk biological taxonomies found by Berlin. First of all, there are usually not more than five (never more than six) hierarchical levels in human anatomical partonomy. These can be divided into primary and secondary lexemes. The primary lexemes are monolexemic (e.g., head, arm, eye), and the secondary lexemes, which contain a basic term and an addendum, are bilexemic (e.g., forearm and fingernail). Anderson (1978:352) reports that children acquire basic body-part lexemes earlier than secondary body-part terms. Among the universals observed were the following:

1. Every language includes a term for HEAD in its lexical field of body-parts, and the term is always immediately possessed by BODY.
2. A term for LEG (labeled in most languages) implies a separate term for ARM although the converse is not always true.
3. A label for FOOT implies a separate term for HAND.
4. Terms for INDIVIDUAL TOES imply terms for INDIVIDUAL FINGERS.

Lehrer (1974:164-165) describes several universals in the semantic domain of cooking terms. Using a sample of languages, she found that "in general, if a language has at least two cooking words that contrast, one will be used for boiling." A second universal is that "if a language has three or more cooking words in addition to a term for boiling, the non-boiling domain will be subdivided."

Brown and Witkowski (1981) have assembled evidence that certain metaphors for body parts occur in widely diverse languages with a much greater probability than chance would indicate. For example, the pupil of the eye is frequently equated with a human or human-like object. This metaphor appears in more than one-third of the languages surveyed (twenty-five out of sixty-nine). The second most common metaphor for the pupil of the eye is a seed/pupil one which is found among sixteen percent of the languages worldwide. Another metaphor involves "equating one or more digits of the hand or foot with people," often kinsmen. This occurs in forty-two out of one-hundred eighteen languages. A third common metaphor compares a muscle with a small animal (twenty-three out of one-hundred eighteen). (In English, "muscle" traces back to the Latin "musculus" which can be literally translated as "little mouse.")

Sociolinguistic Universals

Scholars have proposed a number of sociolinguistic universals. Head (1978) examined the pronominal systems of over one hundred languages in order to define universals of conveying respect through pronouns. He found that variation in number is the most widespread method of showing respect or social distance. The plural form is usually the carrier of respect, whereas singular is the ordinary form used for inferiors or intimates.

Levinson (1978) proposes a similar universal, but adds four others. He uses Brown and Gilman's (1960) T-V distinction, where T represents the form used in speaking to someone of less social distance and V represents the form used to show special respect to someone of greater social distance:

1. Mutual T indicates social closeness, whereas mutual V indicates greater social distance. T-V usage indicates an asymmetrical relationship with the socially higher person giving T and receiving V.
2. If the usage of T or V is different than would be expected, it is due to either a situational switch (e.g., change in social role or formality) or a strategic switch (e.g., attitudinal change).
3. T-T is used more frequently in lower social classes than in upper classes where V-V and T-V predominate. This applies to traditional, stable, stratified societies.
4. Rural families use more asymmetrical T-V than do urban families.

Levinson suggests these universals on the basis of limited

data, and proposes further testing as more data becomes available. These universals are plausible, but not all the explanations for their existence are necessarily valid (see Chapter 5).

Levinson (1979:207) suggests formality as a fourth type of honorific along with reference, addressee, and bystander types. Several problems arise from such a classification. Firstly, there are no honorific markers used exclusively to denote formality. While Levinson considers the Japanese mas as a formal style marker potentially independent of social relationships, the concept is blurred by the fact that all Japanese honorific markers appear to be affected by the formality of the situation. Thus, two persons who may not use reference honorifics in speaking with each other privately may use them in a more formal situation. Secondly, formality has a variety of meanings, and consequently the type of formality needs to be specified. Irvine (1979) has defined at least four different aspects of formality usage:

1. Increased structuring of code vocabulary items (e.g., intonation, phonology, syntax), and fixed-text sequences and turn-taking.
2. Code consistency (i.e., the more formal the situation, the less irony, levity, humor, and local color occur in conversation).
3. Focus on public, positional identities rather than private identities.

4. Emergence of a central situational focus (i.e., the greater the number of persons focusing on an activity or person, the more formal the situation becomes).

Bloch (1975) argues that some of these factors are closely correlated with others such that situation formality is closely associated with code structuring. As the situation becomes more formal, the code also becomes more highly developed. Irvine (1979) points out that some of the above factors are not necessarily correlated. Thus, focus on public identity does not necessarily imply the emergence of a central situational focus.

Formality and honorifics are related but separate concepts. Both tend to be used when the speaker wishes to show greater respect, and more honorifics tend to be employed in more formal situations. However, while every language has ways of expressing formality, not all languages contain honorifics. Furthermore, it is possible for honorific markers to appear in situations that would not be considered formal. Formality is best considered as an influence on honorific usage rather than an honorific type. More research on the precise relationships between honorifics and formality is necessary.

Politeness Universals

At least two streams of research contributed to the identification of possible politeness universals. One

stream from sociology is represented by the work of Goffman (1956) with his analysis of deference and demeanor in the relationships among persons. The other stream of research is represented by persons who described individual languages where variation in usage can only be explained in terms of the relationships of the participants in the interaction (e.g., Shohara, 1952; Benu and Norbeck, 1958; Martin, 1964; and Geertz, 1960).

One of the pioneer studies that combined these approaches to examine a group of languages was conducted by Brown and Gilman (1960). They examined two second person pronouns in several Indo-European languages that varied depending on the relative power and degree of solidarity of the interlocutors. They found that the reciprocal use of a second person pronoun term indicates solidarity and the degree of social distance; and the nonreciprocal use of those terms indicates a power differential. Thus, for two members of a dyad to address each other with T (e.g., the informal French tu) indicates relative intimacy, while reciprocal V (e.g., the formal French vous) indicates relative distance or formality. A power differential is present with the nonreciprocal use of the two pronouns. The socially higher person is addressed by V and the lower by T.

Brown and Gilman's work spawned a large number of similar studies of pronoun variation in other languages.¹ Although additional factors have been suggested, relative status and solidarity remain as the basic components in determining how verbal interaction occurs between a speaker and listener.

Geertz (1960:255) uses a "wall" metaphor to describe Javanese speech levels based on ideas presented earlier by Simmel (1950). He suggests that the higher the level of language spoken to an individual, then the thicker the wall of etiquette protecting his emotional life. Even though Brown and Gilman describe only pronouns, and Geertz describes Indonesian nouns and verbs, it is possible to relate their two approaches. The thickness of wall metaphor can be used to describe both the usage of second person pronouns in Indo-European languages and speech levels in Javanese. The factors of power and solidarity determine the thickness of that wall. The greater the degree of solidarity, the thinner will be the wall of etiquette surrounding the person; and ordinarily, the greater the degree of power a person holds vis-a-vis his

1. Other variables have also been proposed to account for differential pronoun usage such as topic and context (Howell, 1967; and Friedrich, 1966), and social class (Bates and Benigni, 1975; and Paulston, 1975). Other researchers have suggested that more than two levels of pronouns (T and V) need to be considered (Hunter, 1975; and Jones, 1965).

interlocutors, the thicker will be the wall protecting his inner self.

Lakoff (1972) attempts to show that two very different languages--English and Japanese--may express politeness differently, but that the same underlying social process determines when politeness is appropriate. That process always involves considering the speaker's status as lower than that of the addressee. In a language such as Japanese there are separate morphological devices (honorifics) for communicating politeness. In English, grammatical forms that are used for other purposes can be adapted for politeness expressions.

As an example, Lakoff (1972:910) constructs a setting where a hostess wants her guest to try the cake that she had made (or picked out):

- a) You must have some of this cake.
- b) You should have some of this cake.
- c) You may have some of this cake.
- d) Have some of this delicious cake.

The first sentence is the most polite--similar to honorific usage. Ordinarily, "may" is more polite than "must," but in this context, the former suggests that it would be distasteful for the guest to accept the cake. "May" is improper because it makes two assumptions that are contrary to polite usage, namely that the person giving permission

is putting himself in a superior position, and that the addressee really wishes to have the cake. Polite usage requires the speaker to act as though his status is lower than the addressee's. "Should" is rather rude because it suggests that the addressee had better have some cake, "that is, that the cake is too good to miss." This would be improper in the same way as the last sentence.

This analysis presents a few problems. It is doubtful that some of the sample sentences would occur in natural conversation, and a sentence like "You must have some of this cake," does not really carry any honorific meaning. However, Lakoff does make the useful point that languages like English have linguistic devices that carry both meaning and politeness.

In the most extensive treatment of politeness universals published to date, Brown and Levinson (1978: 56-310) seek to describe the similar ways that people choose to express themselves in unrelated languages and cultures. To account for this similarity, they assemble a "model person" and claim that politeness phenomena can be explained by the interaction of "face" and "rationality." Face is defined as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" (1978:66), and consists of two parts: positive face, or the desire of ego to be unimpeded; and negative face, or the desire of ego to receive approval

in certain respects. Rationality is defined as the "availability to our model person of a precisely definable mode of reasoning from ends to means that will achieve those ends" (1978:63). They go on to propose (1978:81) three factors which affect the choice of strategy in speaking: a) social distance between speaker and hearer, b) the measure of power that the hearer has over the speaker, and c) the degree to which a particular face threatening act (FTA) is considered an imposition in that culture. These factors determine the seriousness of an FTA and the level of politeness that will be necessary to minimize the damage from communicating that FTA.

The Brown and Levinson model then, posits a person who is rational with respect to certain "face" wants. They then analyze how a person would act in regard to those wants (1978:89-92). In conveying positive politeness, various strategies are used, such as noticing the hearer and his interests, using in-group identity markers, seeking agreement or avoiding disagreement, asserting common ground, and fostering the idea of cooperation with the hearer. In conveying negative politeness, the speaker uses less direct strategies, such as avoiding coercion by apologizing or by impersonalizing speaker and hearer. In the three languages that they examined, Brown and Levinson found that these strategies were employed to show politeness in various

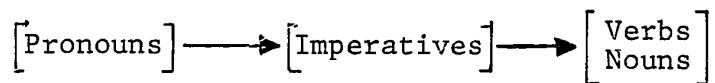
situations. They propose that all languages draw from these strategies to allow speakers to be able to use certain FTAs.

Brown and Levinson (1978:263-265) also claim that there are different kinds of relationships that can exist between structure and usage. In politeness strategies the form and meaning are clear, and together they determine usage (e.g., "if you don't mind" + a request). In another possible relationship exemplified by honorifics, there is a direct connection between form and usage. Brown and Levinson suggest that one usage evolves and freezes into another usage, which then becomes a new form and meaning combination. For example, a plural pronoun becomes a singular honorific marker and may lose its original plural meaning. It in turn is eventually replaced by another plural pronoun which begins to carry honorific meaning.

The Brown and Levinson methodology raises some problems which require further investigation. Are all the categories they propose present in each language, or do they form a "model person," for example, and force all languages and cultures to fit it? "Rationality" is an unfortunate choice of terms to describe behavior which is generally below the level of consciousness. Do persons really act in such a way that face-saving behavior can be

labelled rational? May not the motivation for human behavior be somewhat more complex than this?

Neustupny (1978:196) views honorifics as one of the ways in which politeness can be communicated. He claims that this politeness factor is relatively homogeneous "within man's culture." Using a sample of five languages, including three Indo-European ones, his "impressionistic assessment" is that aspects of honorific speech are employed in a language in the following implicational order:



He goes on to say that although this seems to be the order of appearance of honorifics in languages now, this "is not necessarily in accordance with the order in which, historically speaking, honorifics appear or vanish" (1978:197). As will be demonstrated in Chapter 4, it is possible to relate the synchronic appearance of honorifics and the way which honorifics historically appear and vanish.

Reasons for Language Universals

Internal to the Mind vs.
External to the Mind

The reasons given to explain the origin of language universals can be divided between those that focus on the

structure of the human mind and its processes, and those that focus on other factors outside the mind. Scholars who favor the structure of the mind as an explanation range from those who hold that there is a detailed correlation between brain structure and language universals to those who hold that certain general learning principles lead to commonalities among languages. Factors that are external to the human mind are more diverse, and include such possibilities as a common genesis for all languages, demands of communication, and degree of societal complexity.

Among the "internal mind" theories, one view holds that universals are conditioned by the structure of the human brain and are handed on in the germ plasma just like any other physiological or neurological trait (see Householder, 1971:24). Chomsky (1975:4) proposes that the mind is wired in such a way that language universals can be explained in detail by its structure. He says, "By studying language we may discover abstract principles that govern structure and use, principles that are universal by biological necessity and not mere historical accident, that derive from mental characteristics of the species."

An alternate view to the detailed wiring model is the information processing model. This theory attempts to explain commonalities among languages by certain general learning processes that are common to humans rather than by

specific knowledge programmed in every human at birth (Brown, 1977:76). Some of these general cognitive mechanisms include binary opposition, criteria clustering, the dimension of salience, and marking principles (Witkowski and Brown, 1978). An example of binary opposition is the cross-linguistic occurrence of opposites like wide/narrow, deep/shallow, tall/short, and old/young in all languages. Criteria clustering refers to the frequent correlation of a group of features in nature (e.g., bills, feathers, and wings go together, and indicate a bird). An example of the dimension of salience is the prevalence (i.e., more salient) of the dimension of size over the dimensions of depth and width. Unmarked words tend to be more salient and to occur more often than their marked opposites.

Witkowski and Brown (1978) take a position between Chomsky's detailed wiring model and the cognitive psychologists' more general information processing model, and suggest a "rich cognitive model." This theory states that some universals of language result from detailed wiring, but the greater part of human language can probably be best explained on the basis of general cognitive principles common to all humans.

Among the "external mind" theories for language universals, one is the traditional idea that all human languages go back to one source language (see Householder,

1971). The tremendous diversity within language families such as the Indo-European seems to militate against this view.

Another theory views the source of universals as the common interactional strategies that people use in conversation. Sociologists have attempted to show how the organization of talk (mostly in English) contributes to a construction of social reality (Schegloff, 1972, 1976). Philosophers have attempted to relate linguistic structures to the organization of communication (Searle's speech acts, 1969; and Grice's maxims, 1975). Sociolinguists have shown how meaning is conveyed in linguistic structures (Gumperz and Blom, 1972; and Labov, 1972). Brown and Levinson (1978:285) have argued that the "rich and specific parallelism" of politeness forms among unrelated languages must come from universal features of social interaction. They have proposed a universal sociological principle of "face redress" to account for politeness universals among languages (1978:262).

Neustupny (1974:34) suggests an evolutionary development of languages from those spoken in small scale societies to those spoken in large scale societies. In the case of elaborate honorific language systems, he sees their development as related to middle levels of societal complexity. This theory attempts to explain why honorific

systems of similar type are present in certain languages but not in others.

Formal vs. Functional

A distinction can also be made between formal universals and functional universals. The former are concerned with structural properties of grammar, while the latter focus on the process by which speech events are related to formal grammatical structures. Chomsky, and also Greenberg to a lesser degree, have been primarily concerned with formal universals. Brown and Levinson, on the other hand, have focused on functional universals (i.e., describing both the constructions that languages use and why those constructions are employed in all languages. See J. Heath, 1975; and Van Valin and Foley, 1980).

This distinction between formal and functional universals is the logical consequence of different views on the nature of language. Chomsky, following in the tradition of de Saussure, views language structure as primary; but Brown and Levinson view language function as primary. Chomsky relates formal structural universals to the underlying nature of the human mind. Brown and Levinson begin with language function and then attempt to explain the regularities of form that develop as a result of those common functions. The approach that Greenberg takes also begins with the forms that exist and then

attempts to show how one form can move (through possible stages) to a different form. Some of his more recent work also recognizes functional pressures on language that may cause changes (e.g., the reason classifier systems spread to demonstratives).

Summary

This chapter surveyed the literature related to language universals which includes implicational and statistical relationships. Certain lexical universals have been identified in terminology of colors, botanical and zoological life-forms, kinship, human anatomy, cooking terms, and metaphors for body parts. The sociolinguistic universals proposed suggest common politeness strategies that persons use in discourse. The dimensions of solidarity (horizontal social distance) and power (vertical social distance) can be used to explain those discourse strategies. Various possible reasons, some internal and some external to the human mind, for these language regularities were proposed.

Honorific universals have a lot in common with other lexical universals in that synchronic observations provide evidence for diachronic development of forms in languages. Sociolinguistic universals provide evidence that honorifics in various languages function in a similar manner across cultures.

In the following chapters regularities of honorific forms in a number of languages will be examined. The methodology will follow Greenberg's model, actually observing languages using implicational universals and tendencies.

CHAPTER 3

JAPANESE HONORIFIC FORMS

Having looked at language universals in general and having touched upon honorific systems, we can now examine in some detail one such system. This chapter will describe the different types of Japanese honorifics that appear in various parts of speech, as well as the variable elaboration of honorifics in different semantic domains and the evolution of honorifics.

Chapter 4 will examine ten other honorific systems in somewhat lesser detail, and compare these with Japanese in order to identify regularities in the occurrence of honorification in different languages. The relative presence or absence of different types of honorifics in Japanese will be compared to the presence or absence of those types in the other ten languages. Variation of honorific elaboration in different semantic domains will also be compared. The data on the eleven languages will provide the base for examining regularities in honorifics forms, how the forms evolve, and possible explanations for the existence of those regularities.

Terminology

Among traditional Japanese grammarians, keigo (honorifics) subsumes sonkeigo (actor or respect forms), kenjōgo (non-actor or humble forms), teineigo (addressee or politeness forms), and bikago (beautification forms). These will hereafter be referred to as actor, non-actor, addressee, and beautification forms respectively, since this choice of terminology is most appropriate for a cross-linguistic study.¹ Examples of the four types (honorific markers capitalized) are:

1. Actor

sensei-wa watakushi-c Osasoi NI NATta.

teacher-Topic I-Object invited.

The teacher invited me.

1. Harada (1975:502) has criticized the traditional terminology as being too semantic in orientation. He uses subject, object, and performative for respect, humble, and politeness forms respectively. Unfortunately, his terminology presents problems when used cross-linguistically. Although "subject honorific" seems to fit the Japanese data, it does not fit Madurese (see Chapter 4) where the category "actor" must be used. "Object honorific" is actually a cover term for a number of different grammatical relations. For example, in Japanese it includes not only direct and indirect objects, but also action that is done for some honored person's benefit.

Neustupny (1977) distinguishes object honorifics as found in Sentence 2, and humble honorifics where the speaker humbles himself and indirectly shows respect to the other. Both types are subsumed under non-actor honorifics here since the respect is not given to the actor in either.

2. Non-actor

watakushi-ga sensei-o Osasoi SHIta

I-Subject teacher-Object invited

I invited the teacher.

3. Addressee

watakushi-ga sensei-o osasoi shiMASHIta

I-Subject teacher-Object invited

I invited the teacher.

4. Beautification

Ohiru ni Osake-o nomimashō-ka

noon at rice wine-Object drink-question

Shall we drink rice wine at noon?

In Sentence 1 the teacher is the actor and is shown respect with the O-(verb) NI NAT- honorific form. When the teacher is in the object position though (Sentence 2), then a non-actor form must be used: O-(verb) SHI-. Sentence 3 is addressed to a socially superior person so it contains both the non-actor honorific to show respect to the teacher referred to as well as showing respect to the addressee (-MASHI-). Sentence 4 contains the beautification form O- attached to 'noon' and 'rice wine.' These are polite forms whose occurrence depend more on the speaker's presentation of self than on the person referred to or addressed.

Honorifics can be generated as a result of the person referred to (reference honorifics), the person

addressed (addressee honorifics), or by the bystanders (bystander honorifics) (Comrie, 1976). Actor and non-actor forms can be classified as reference honorifics. Bikago, or beautification, does not perfectly fit any of these categories, although it appears to be more closely associated with addressee and bystander honorifics than with reference honorifics. It is treated here as a subtype of addressee honorifics.

One way to distinguish beautification from the other three types is to consider Goffman's (1956) distinction between deference and demeanor (see also Neustupny, 1978). Deference refers to treating others with the proper ritual care, and demeanor refers to the presentation of self to others. Reference, addressee, and bystander honorifics involve giving deference or respect to others who are at a greater social distance. Beautification forms, on the other hand, are an attempt to give a good impression to everyone and are part of the person's demeanor or their presentation of self to others. Beautification forms differ from other addressee honorifics in that the social position of the addressee does not seem to necessarily affect their usage in the same way it does other addressee honorifics. They also appear to be used more extensively by some persons.

The distinction between beautification forms and other honorifics is not always clearcut. There is a

component of demeanor present in addressee and reference honorifics, as well as a component of deference in beautification honorifics. An appropriate presentation of self requires the use of the proper respect forms for others. And beautification forms may also provide a measure of deference to the person addressed. However, this deference is given more equally to everyone whether to the addressee or bystanders.

Methodology

Data on Japanese honorifics was gathered from consultants directly and through the use of a questionnaire. This was supplemented by the author's own observations while living in Japan between 1966 and 1975.

A sample of four hundred seventy-six Japanese verbs (the first verb on each page of the NHK Yoji/Yogo dictionary, but omitting suru verbs) was presented to five consultants who were asked to determine whether the following honorific equivalents existed for each verb: o-V ni naru, o-V suru, o-V da, V-(r)areru, o-V asobasu, o-V mōshiageru, and o-V itasu. In each case the desu/masu verb ending was also included (e.g., itasu/itashimasu). The consultants were then asked to circle the number of the verbs that they considered to be commonly used. Several re-tests were also devised to determine the

acceptability of certain honorific constructions on a written list and in spoken discourse.

A sample of two hundred fifty nouns was also collected from every other page of the NHK dictionary. Three consultants were asked to attach the honorific prefixes o- and go- where possible to the nouns. Fifty-eight nouns, all of which the consultants agreed were more commonly used, were identified.

Parts of Speech

Terms of Address and Reference

The honorific system in Japanese affects how persons are named in both direct address and in reference. There are two groups of suffixes which can be attached to first name (FN), family name (LN), or kinship terms (KT). Group I suffixes (san, sama, chan, and kun) cannot ordinarily stand alone, but must be attached to another term. Group II suffixes (e.g., sensei-professional person, shachō-company president, buchō-company section chief, kyōju-professor, etc.) can stand alone as a term of address or a term of reference. Group II terms tend to be used in more restricted environments, whereas the variation in usage for Group I terms is greater. Group II terms can be attached only to LN. Most of the terms in Group II could be described as chosen on the basis of achieved status.

Some usages of FN, LN, and KT with and without suffixes are examined below. These examples are approximations based on the intuitions of several consultants.

FN with no suffix is used in the family to junior members by father, mother, or older sibling. Father is most likely to use this form, mother slightly less likely, and older siblings are least likely to employ it for a younger sibling. It is slightly more likely to be used for a female child than a male child. A husband may use the term for his wife, but she is less likely to reciprocate (Wenger, 1971). This form may also be used by parents in reference to their own child (when name is used) in speaking to someone outside the family.

FN + chan is a diminutive that is often used for a child. The difference between FN chan and FN san is that chan indicates "cuteness." Both male and female babies are generally called FN chan, but after several years kun is often used for boys.

FN + kun is used for young boys through elementary school, and then changes to LN + kun. FN + kun is never used for girls except to tease a "tomboy."

FN + san can be used for a child of either sex, and is sometimes also used for adult women by close friends; but it is rarely used for men.

LN with no suffix occurs between persons who are very close. One consultant reported her sixty year-old father uses LN in addressing a man who was a college classmate and lived in the same dormitory. It is employed less frequently or almost never between women. Male college students sometimes use it. A criminal is referred to and addressed as LN, with no respect marker. LN is used to refer to oneself or a member of one's own group (e.g., a person from the same company) to persons outside the group.

LN + kun is a continuation of FN + kun for male children. This form is always used by an equal or superior. Girls working with men in a company or school may sometimes be addressed with LN + kun, but that is more rare.

LN + san is the most widely occurring respect term, and would appear to be the unmarked form. All other forms indicate some added component of meaning.

LN + sama occurs infrequently in spoken Japanese. It is a more extreme honorific that one might hear on the public address system in a department store, e.g., "LN, FN, + sama, Please come to the information desk."

Group II terms are generally used independently within a restricted environment when reference is clearly understood. Thus, in a private hospital operated by a single doctor, sensei in that context usually refers to that doctor. Family name and company name, etc., may be

used to identify the person referred to by the second group terms when necessary. FN would almost never appear without LN in this context.

KT take only Group I suffixes. All four suffixes can be attached to KT. Otōsan and okāsan are used frequently for father and mother. Often chan is employed rather than san in younger children's usage until they are older. But there are exceptions. One consultant indicated that in his parental family chan has always been used by all the adult children in speaking to their parents and by parents speaking to their children. In another family the informant always addressed older brother, sister, parents, and grandparents with the suffix sama which is an extreme honorific.

In a survey of usage of KT by different ages in Hokkaido (Wenger, 1971) it was found that female children are frequently addressed by name or diminutive with or without chan in the vast majority of cases. Some fathers and mothers also used onēchan, older sister. Among male children usage is similar, except that name without suffix is more common and the term boku is also used.

These terms of address and reference are not necessarily an exhaustive enumeration. Actually, there is a great deal of variation in usage, and certain social factors can be correlated with particular usages. For

example a study of the use of sensei and san among a small group of teachers showed variation that depended on relative status within the group (Wenger, 1976). Terms of address and reference used among nine female teachers were observed for one month. Sensei was used twenty-eight times and san eight times with the most capable teacher (recognized as such by all other teachers) referred to eight times as LN sensei and never as LN san. This contrasted with two younger and more recently employed teachers who were addressed by other teachers as LN sensei four times and as LN san six times.

Pronouns

It has been argued that the Japanese language does not contain pronouns of the same type as those which occur in languages such as English (Hinds, 1973; and Kuno, 1973). One reason for this claim is that in Japanese discourse, a zero form appears where a pronoun would occur in an equivalent English exchange. The following transcription from a telephone conversation between two male Japanese university students illustrates this absence of pronouns:

A. ima doko ni irun da?

Now where are

Where are (you) now?

B. aa ima, ima chotto tomodachi no uchi ni iru no.

Now just friend's house in am

Now? Now (I) am just at (my) friend's house.

In Sentence A a zero form is equal to the English pronoun "you." In Sentence B the English pronouns "I" and "my" do not have overt pronoun equivalents.

Japanese "pronouns" also differ from those in Indo-European languages in that they function syntactically as nouns (Harada, 1975:511). A number of forms can function as pronouns. Among them are the following:

<u>1st Person</u> <u>Singular</u>	<u>2nd Person</u> <u>Singular</u>	<u>3rd Person</u> <u>Singular</u>
watakushi	anata	kare
watashi	anta	kanojo
atashi	sochira	yatsu
watai	sotchi	aitsu
washi	kimi	soitsu
uchi	omae	koitsu
boku	kisama	
ore	otaku	
ora		
<u>1st Person</u> <u>Plural</u>	<u>2nd Person</u> <u>Plural</u>	<u>3rd Person</u> <u>Plural</u>
watakushitachi	anatagata	karera
watashitachi	anta	
atashitachi		
bokutachi		
orera		

These "pronouns" are used when necessary to identify relevant NPs or to give special emphasis. The various forms represent different levels of deference.

Most of these forms can be arranged on the basis of their politeness from the most to least polite.

Verbs

Verbs represent the most complex part of the honorific system, occurring in both lexical and grammatical forms. One form is triggered by the person addressed, and a number of forms are triggered by the person referred to.

The addressee honorific is signaled by the desu/-masu form where desu is the copula and -masu is the form that can be added to all verbs. A very polite form, gozaimasu, can be substituted for desu/-masu.

The reference honorifics can be divided into actor and non-actor forms. Briefly, actor honorifics are used when the actor (often subject) is a socially superior person, and non-actor honorifics are used to express respect to persons in other grammatical relations such as object, etc. Actor and non-actor honorifics include the following forms:

<u>Actor forms</u>	<u>Non-actor forms</u>
o-V ni naru	o-V suru
V-(r)areru	o-V itasu
o-V da	o-V mōshiageru
o-V asobasu	

Among the actor honorifics, the form o-V ni naru is somewhat more polite than V-(r)areru, which Inoue (1974:21) characterizes as a low level honorific. The o-V da form is

sometimes confused with o-N da (e.g., ohanashi desu, where hanashi can either be the noun or a verb from hanasu). The hyperpolite form o-V asobasu is not commonly used. Among the non-actor honorifics, o-V mōshiageru is the most polite, followed by o-V itasu and o-V suru.

There is considerable variation in the percentage of verbs that can be attached to the various honorific forms. Table 1 shows that actor honorifics attach more readily to verbs than do non-actor honorifics. Both o-V ni naru and o-V asobasu can attach to about half of all verbs; -(r)areru can attach to more than three-fourths. Among non-actor honorifics less than one-fourth of the verbs can attach to o-V suru and o-V mōshiageru.

The percentages of more "common" verbs that can have honorific equivalents is generally higher than the percentage for all verbs. (Compare Table 1 with Tables 2 and 3). The form o-V ni naru seems to be especially sensitive to the degree of "commonness" of verbs. In contrast, -(r)areru attaches almost equally to all verbs and "common" verbs.²

2. Kitajo (1978) says that o-V ni naru is attached more readily to verbs than -(r)areru. As her sample she uses one hundred four very common verbs that appear in several Japanese elementary language textbooks. She found that o-V ni naru could attach to 78.9% of the verbs, but -(r)areru could attach to only 65.4%. However, in this present reduplication of her study, five consultants averaged 77.7% for o-V ni naru and 81.2% for -(r)areru even with the very "common" verbs in her list.

Table 1. Percentage of Verbs That Can Have Actor and Non-actor Honorific Forms

Consultant	Actor		Non-actor	
	o-V ni naru	-(r)areru	o-V asobasu	o-V suru o-V mōshiageru
1	78.2%	86.0%	78.8%	47.1% 8.4%
2	60.5	80.8	65.8	34.3 44.0
3	38.9	83.7	8.2	17.2 4.0
4	38.1	73.4	61.8	14.0 51.1
5	31.4	72.8	25.6	10.5 7.4
Average Total	49.4	79.3	48.0	24.6 23.0
N = 476				

Table 2. Percentage of "Common" Verbs That
Can Have Actor Honorific Forms

Consultant	o-V ni naru	-(r)areru	o-V da	o-V asobasu
1	89.2%	92.3%	66.1%	86.9%
2	80.0	87.7	76.1	74.6
3	60.8	82.3	8.5*	12.3*
4	63.1	77.7	86.9	71.5
5	54.6	73.1	40.7	46.9
Average Total	69.5	82.6	67.4	70.0

N = 130

*Average does not include these percentages

Table 3. Percentage of "Common" Verbs That
Can Have Non-actor Honorific Forms

Consultant	o-V suru	o-V itasu	o-V mōshiageru
1	53.8%	61.5%	5.4%
2	46.2	43.8	50.0
3	31.5	13.8	6.2
4	26.9	51.5	60.0
5	21.5	25.4	9.2
Average Total	36.0	39.0	26.1

N = 130

Although there is considerable variation among the consultants, variation tends to be regular among the more commonly used forms for both actor and non-actor type honorifics: o-V ni naru, -(r)areru, and o-V suru. That is, if a consultant tends to attach o-V ni naru to a high percentage of verbs, then the same consultant tends to also attach -(r)areru and o-V suru to a high percentage of verbs. For more extreme honorific forms, o-V asobasu, o-V itasu, and o-V mōshiageru, and for o-V da, this regularity tends to break down.³

For verb attachments concerning which four or more of the consultants agree, the number of verbs that can take an attachment decreases as the degree of politeness increases. For example, all of the verbs that take the actor form o-V asobasu also could take the o-V ni naru attachment, and all of the verbs that take o-V ni naru could take V-(r)areru, except a stative verb, dekiru, 'to be able.' The same pattern holds for non-actor honorifics.

One type of verbal honorific is formed by substituting another lexical item that is its honorific

3. In the case of o-V mōshiageru there appear to be two different usages. For consultants 1, 3, and 5, this form is only used when the verb means "to say." For consultants 2 and 4, this form is also used as a more extreme non-actor honorific marker that can be attached to verbs of various meanings.

The variation in usage of o-V da may be the result of some consultants separating it from o-N da.

equivalent. Of the sample of four hundred seventy-six verbs, four were themselves honorific forms, and seven were ordinary verbs that have honorific equivalents. Seven verbs represent 1.471% of the sample, and if there are approximately four thousand, eight hundred fifty-eight verbs in the dictionary, there are about seventy-one base verbs which can have either actor and/or non-actor lexical honorific equivalents. Among the one hundred thirty more commonly used verbs, the percentage of base verbs with lexical honorific equivalents is 2.6 times higher at 3.846%.

Nouns

Honorific nouns are formed by attaching the prefix o- or go- to the word. The choice of prefix depends largely on the origin of the word; o- attached chiefly to words of Japanese origin, and go- to words of Chinese origin (Miller, 1967:276). There is no difference in the level of politeness.

There are reference honorifics among nouns, but there do not appear to be any addressee honorifics, except beautification forms. Reference forms include what might be termed actor and non-actor honorifics as well as possessive honorifics which can be considered a type of

actor honorific. Possessive forms are triggered by a head noun that is a socially superior person as in:

Sensei no keigo ni tsuite no GOkenkyū.

teacher honorific concerning research

The teacher's research about honorifics.

Harada (1975:534) argues that a sentence such as the following represents an object (non-actor) honorific:

Ashita odenwa de GOhenji itashimasu.

tomorrow telephone answer give

Tomorrow I'll give you the answer by phone.

Table 4. Percentage of Nouns to Which
o-/go- Can Attach

Consultant	Percentage of 250 Nouns to Which o-/go- Attach	Percentage of 58 More Commonly used Nouns to Which o-/go- Attach
1	22.4%	46.3%
2	10.0	27.8
4	12.0	25.9

For the two hundred fifty noun sample taken from a dictionary, between 10.0% and 22.4% of the words could have prefixes (see Table 4). For the more commonly used nouns, those percentages more than doubled. Nouns with non-actor

honorifics appear to be less common than actor honorifics, and both occur less frequently than beautification.

Adjectives

Adjective honorifics are formed by adding an honorific prefix and the suffix desu (e.g., oyoroshī desu ka, "Is it all right?"). Reference types are limited to actor forms, and addressee types seem to be limited to beautification forms. A hyper-polite form that is used infrequently contains gozaimasu (e.g., oyoroshū gozaimasu ka.).

Summary

All of the honorifications to parts of speech considered above can appear in an utterance, but in actual conversation some forms appear and others do not. The speaker may show respect by using both verb and noun honorific markers, or he may choose to use only one type. Given the variety of honorific markers in various parts of speech and the speaker's prerogative to use or omit certain forms, the number of possible politeness levels in conversation is very large indeed.

Variations Due to Research Methods

The considerable variation among the consultants' responses can be attributed in part to two aspects of the

research methods used. The consultants may have given inconsistent answers, and the responses to the questionnaire may not have accurately reflected the person's intuitions in speaking or listening.

To test the first issue, a set of ten verbs was administered to the consultants two weeks later. The verbs included o-V ni naru, -(r)areru, and o-V suru type honorifics. On the average, 14% (N=150) of the responses were different when taken the second time. Some consultants were more consistent than others (7% vs. 23%). There was a general tendency for consultants to allow more honorific forms the second time around.

To test the second issue, the consultant who had allowed the most honorific forms was asked to prepare a tape recording of the usage of ten honorifics in simulated situations. The other four consultants were asked to judge the acceptability of the honorifics used. Over 37% of the responses were different the second time. Twenty-seven percent of the previously rejected responses became acceptable, and 10% that had been previously acceptable were rejected in the situations used on the tape recording.

Allowing the consultants to spend more time thinking about a verb and its possible variety of meanings partly accounted for the increase in honorific forms. The consultants tended to consider more carefully each word on

a list of ten than on a list of five hundred. In addition the suggestion of usages that a consultant had not previously thought of (e.g., on the tape recording) contributed to an increase of acceptable forms.

Other observations about the reliability of the data can be made. Some consultants were more consistent in their responses than others. There was a greater degree of agreement among the consultants regarding more common verbs, and there were less "errors" among the common verbs.

The data can be viewed as an approximation of actual usage of honorifics. Usages for which four or five consultants are in agreement can be considered as fairly reliable, but other data should be used with caution.

Variation in Possible Honorific Forms

The variation of possible forms, concerning which the consultants are in agreement, can be attributed to various restrictions on the formation of honorific verbs, depending on the form.

Reference Forms

Honorification cannot occur generally where there is no human performer (i.e., agent or experiencer).⁴ For

4. Examples such as mamonaku kyūkō ga mairimasu, 'The express train will be arriving momentarily.' would seem to be exceptions. However, the train can be viewed as something controlled by the company of which the speaker is an employee. Another possibility is that mairimasu is being used in this context as a beautification form.

example, kōru, 'to freeze,' cannot have a human agent or experiencer and thus has no honorific equivalent. Hoeru, 'to bark,' does not have an honorific equivalent for the same reason. Secondly, honorification tends not to occur with any verb that has pejorative meaning or negative connotations (e.g., kuiarasu, 'to eat greedily,'). Lastly, honorific equivalents occur more frequently among commonly used verbs.

Actor Forms

The less polite the honorific form, the greater the number of verbs to which it can be attached. The three types of actor honorifics can be arranged from most polite to less polite: o-V asobasu, o-V ni naru, and V-(r)areru. Comparing o-V ni naru and V-(r)areru, a number of observations can be made. In the sample of four hundred seventy-six verbs the -(r)areru form attaches to longer verbs with an average length of 4.48 morae compared to 3.43 morae for verbs that attach to o-V ni naru. -(R)areru will also attach to words with somewhat negative connotations. Of the verbs that can be attached to -(r)areru but not o-V ni naru, about half of them are of that nature (e.g., kanzuku, 'feel,' ganbaru, 'hustle,' kamitsuku, 'bite at,' sebiru, 'importune'). There also seems to be resistance to attaching o-V ni naru to verbs beginning with o- (e.g., oeru, 'to finish'). Four of thirteen words

(30.8%) that start with o- all the informants agreed could take -(r)areru, but all agreed could not take o-V ni naru. There is no difference, however, between the two forms for the other forty-five words that begin with vowels other than o-.

Non-Actor Forms

Verbs that form non-actor type honorifics must contain an argument that affects another person. (For similar results see Neustupny, 1977:136.) Non-volitional verbs (e.g., umareru, 'to be born'), stative verbs (e.g., dekiru, 'to be able'), speaker-centered verbs, and mode description verbs are excluded. The difference between narau and manabu, 'to learn,' illustrates the speaker-centered concept. Manabu is more "self-centered," and does not have a non-actor form, whereas narau, which emphasizes the process, does. Mode description verbs refer to the way an action is performed (e.g., shiriau, 'to meet and learn to know') rather than the action itself (e.g., au, 'to meet').

It is possible to see many similarities in the formation of verb and noun honorifics. Some forms, such as the addressee honorific desu/masu, seem to attach to any verb. However, for verb reference and noun honorifics, some words have honorific equivalents and some do not. Semantic restrictions determine whether honorific forms

exist for most verbs and nouns. Lexical and phonological restrictions are of somewhat less importance. The restrictions on the formation of honorifics can be summarized as follows:

Semantic Restrictions

Verbs cannot generally become honorifics unless the agent or experiencer are human. Nouns that are related to humans (feelings, culture, meals, furniture, houses, etc.) tend to allow honorification more readily than inanimate items not as closely associated with humans (such as trees, rocks, streams, etc.) (See Shibata, 1957). Some nouns and verbs of pejorative meaning are also ineligible for honorification. The more polite the honorific, the stronger this restriction becomes.

Lexical Restrictions

Less commonly used words and words of foreign origin are less likely to have honorific equivalents for both verbs and nouns. There are many more nouns than verbs that are borrowed, but the restriction seems to hold for both. However, more data is needed to establish this in the case of verbs.

Phonological Restrictions

Honorific forms beginning with o- or go- do not readily attach to verbs or nouns beginning with o-. Longer

words also tend to resist the attachment of honorific markers. This reflects the fact that more frequently used words tend to be shorter (Zipf, 1935, 1949).

Variations and Language Change in Honorifics

From the historical record of Japanese, there is evidence of significant change in honorific forms. One factor is the tendency of honorific forms to lose their honorific value over time (Inoue, 1979; Dasher, 1981). For example, polite "pronoun" forms repeatedly lose their politeness (Kamei, 1976).⁵ Another factor is the tendency of reference-based honorifics to become addressee-based (Dasher, 1981). In particular, non-actor or humble honorifics tend to become addressee honorifics. However, actor honorifics rarely if ever become non-actor honorifics.

One of the major advances in historical linguistics in this century was the linking of variation in linguistic forms to change in language. Change occurs as forms come into competition with each other, and one form gains currency at the expense of another form. Variation in usage often reveal changes occurring in language.

A number of variant usages have been noted in the literature. In fact, quite a few books advising how to

5. Head (1978:194) indicates that honorific pronouns tend to lose their politeness in all languages.

avoid improper use of keigo have appeared (Miller, 1971). However, not all variation is the result of language change. A person may simply be unsure of the relevant social situation (Harada, 1975) or the proper form used in a certain situation. Oishi (1975) notes that variation in usage may also result from differing standards of correct usage among persons of different social classes or ideologies.

One of the more interesting changes is the use of other honorific forms as beautification forms. In the following examples (from Okuyama, 1981) reference honorifics are used as beautification forms, which is a type of addressee honorific:

1. onomimono wa nani ni ITASHImasu ka
 drink what have-non-actor honorific
 What will you have to drink?
2. uchi no akachan ni miruku o AGERU
 house baby milk give-non-actor honorific
 (We) give milk to our baby.
3. seisanjo no KATA ni kīte-kudasai
 fare adjustment counter person ask-polite imperative
 Please ask the person at the fare adjustment counter.

In Sentence 1 an actor-type honorific would normally be expected because the addressee is the implied actor, but a non-actor type appears instead. The speaker

is probably using itashimasu as a beautification form in this context. Sentence 2 contains the verb ageru, 'to give,' which is normally used to describe giving to a superior or to an out-group person. In this sentence milk is given to the baby of the house who is obviously in-group and inferior. Here also the speaker is trying to use polite forms and using ageru as a beautification form. The last sentence is used by an announcer in speaking to the public about a fellow employee. His use of kata (superior and/or out-group person) to refer to an in-group equal is not a "mistake," but rather a respect form which shows him to be a polite speaker.

The expanded use of beautification forms may reflect the increased importance of demeanor in modern society. In pre-Meiji times, social classes in Japan were largely ascribed by birth, whereas in modern society a person's status is based to a greater extent on achievement. In a society where there is little or no social mobility, there is little or no pressure for an individual to change his speech to conform to another social class. However, in modern, mobile society persons are under pressure to use speech appropriate to the social position they have achieved or wish to achieve. Thus, one of the forces for change toward beautification forms in honorific usage is the attempt to present the self with polite usage. On the

one hand, the use of beautification forms could be a shortcut to politeness for a person having difficulty fitting the multitude of forms to the social situation. On the other hand, it could be a case of hypercorrection (Labov, 1972:244), where one social group is attempting to adopt honorific usage, and the use of beautification forms tends to be exaggerated in the process. Interestingly, it is often women who use beautification forms extensively. (There is even an emic term to describe women who overuse beautification forms, "zāmasu fujin.") This fits Labov's findings that it is often middle class women who tend to hypercorrect and consequently become agents of change in a language.

Summary Statement

Honorification in Japanese occurs in a number of parts of speech: terms of address and reference, pronouns, verbs, nouns, and adjectives. Reference and addressee honorifics are both present, and attach to nouns in the same manner, but to verbs differently. Among reference forms, actor types can be attached to verbs, nouns, and adjectives, but non-actor types are less numerous for verbs and nouns and non-existent for adjectives.

Only one form (o-/go-) attaches to nouns, and the context determines whether it is an addressee or reference honorific. Numerous addressee and reference honorifics

can attach to verbs. Addressee forms can attach to all verbs, but reference forms can attach only to some verbs. Whether or not a reference verb form exists depends on the semantic characteristics of the verb, its length and its phonological shape. Honorific forms attach more readily to commonly used verbs, but the more polite the form, the fewer the verbs to which it can attach.

In the next chapter, the honorific systems of ten other languages will be described and compared to the Japanese. Remarkable similarities in the elaboration of parts of speech, honorific types, and semantic areas in which honorification occurs will become evident.

CHAPTER 4

UNIVERSAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HONORIFICS

Japanese honorifics were described in some detail in the preceding chapter. An abbreviated description of the honorific systems of ten other languages is presented in this chapter in order to identify some common characteristics in a sample of the world's languages. The universal features will be drawn from a comparison of Javanese, Madurese, Thai, Korean, Tibetan, Dzongkha, Hindi, Malayalam, Kannada, and Guugu Yimidhirr.

Methodology

The ten languages with honorific systems were selected on the basis of the availability to the author of written sources and consultants. These languages do not represent a scientific random sample either of the world's languages or of languages containing honorific forms. However, they do represent a number of different language families in scattered areas of the globe.

A brief description of each language will focus on the types of honorifics (i.e., reference, addressee, and bystander), parts of speech (i.e., terms of address, pronouns, verbs, nouns, and other parts), and the semantic

domains in which honorification occurs. Written sources and information supplied by consultants will be used as the data base. Because of the confusion of honorific types in some of the literature, special efforts were made to distinguish them, by asking, for example, the consultants to produce sentences spoken to a superior about a friend as well as sentences spoken to a friend about a superior. (These will appear in the descriptions.) In addition, where available, honorific conversations in some modern novels and drama were excerpted in order to further assist in distinguishing the types.

After briefly describing each language's honorific system, variations of honorification of parts of speech will be compared. Variations in types of honorifics (i.e., reference, addressee, and bystander) will also be studied. In order to objectively compare the elaboration of honorifics in different semantic domains, some word lists taken from dictionaries for the various languages will be compared. These word lists were not compiled at random, but are almost indistinguishable from a random sample. For each list every nth word (e.g., every third word) was selected to achieve the sample size needed. Finally, the differential elaboration of honorifics in the languages will be used to chart the possible evolution of honorific

development in any language; and some honorific universals will be proposed.

Language Data

Javanese

Javanese is one of a number of Austronesian languages of Indonesia that have honorifics. (The others are Madurese--examined next--Sundanese, Balinese, and Sasak.) Many Javanese honorifics are lexical in form, but some are formed by adding a suffix, or through internal change. A number of honorific types similar to those found in Japanese can be distinguished. Addressee honorifics form at three levels: Ngoko (ordinary form), Krama (honorific form), and Madya (an in-between type with fewer lexical items). Ngoko krama, as the label suggests, uses items from all three levels. These addressee honorifics form a continuum between Ngoko and Krama forms, depending on the particular mix of elements. Loeb (1944: 115) identifies Ngoko as the "language of children and of low people," and the language used by "superiors to inferiors." Krama, then, is the level used between persons of higher rank and by inferiors in age or rank to superiors. These addressee honorifics function similarly to Japanese addressee honorifics.

Two types of reference honorifics also exist: Krama inggil (actor honorifics), and Krama andap (non-actor honorifics). These function similarly to Japanese reference honorifics as the following examples illustrate (where N=Ngoko, K=Krama, and KI=Krama inggil):

1. (Student speaking to a friend)

Apa pak-profesor wis-dahar?

Q(N) Title-professor Past(N)-eat (rice) (KI)

Sensei-wa gohan-o meshiagat-ta? (Japanese)

```
teacher-Topic    rice (meal)-Object    eat-Past  
                                     (Actor Reference  
                                     Honorific)
```

Did the Professor eat (rice)?

2. (Student speaking to a professor)

Menapa Panjenengan sampun-dahar?

Q(K) you(KI) Past(K)-eat (rice) (KI)

Gohan-o meshi agarimashi-ta ka? (Japanese)

rice (meal)-Object	eat-Past	Q
	Reference	honorific
	Addressee	honorific

Did you eat (rice)?

3. (Student speaking to a friend)

Apa kowe wis-mangan?

Q(N) you(N) Past(N)-eat(N) (rice)

Gohan-o tabe-ta? (Japanese)

rice (meal)-Object eat-Past

Did you eat (rice)?

In Sentence 1 the verb "eat" shows respect to the person eating in both Javanese and Japanese, so an actor reference

honorific is indicated. "Professor" or "teacher" is not an honorific form in either Javanese or Japanese, but the term itself is respectful even though it does not have a lexical alternate. Sentences 2 and 3 are contrasting examples of the presence and absence, respectively, of addressee honorifics.

Javanese and Japanese differ in the marking of parts of speech. Javanese clearly marks not only the verb, but also other parts of speech. In Japanese, only the verb clearly marks the type of honorific, while other parts of speech such as nouns have a common form that can be either a reference or addressee honorific depending on the circumstances. The Javanese verb can be either a reference or addressee honorific, but cannot be both at the same time. Japanese on the other hand has morphological devices to mark separately both addressee and reference honorifics on the same verb at the same time.

A number of ways exist in Javanese to verbally demonstrate respect with names and pronouns. The suffixes mas in referring to men, and mbak in referring to women, can be attached to names. These suffixes are employed for persons of greater social distance and/or superiors, and tend to be omitted for persons of lesser social distance and/or inferiors. A similar phenomenon exists in kinship terms of address where the parent addresses the child by

name while the child addresses each parent with a kinship term. Pronouns can also be used to demonstrate respect in certain relationships. The Ngoko form for the first person singular pronoun is aku, and the Krama form is kula. In the second person singular, there is more elaboration than in the first. Kowe is the ordinary form and sampejan is the addressee honorific form. Pandjenengan or pendjenengan, 'you,' is an actor reference honorific, and is used to refer to superiors. A similar elaboration occurs in the third person singular: deweke and awak(n)e are ordinary forms, and pijambakipun is the addressee honorific form. Pandjenenganipun or pendjenenganipun are alternate actor reference honorifics used to refer to superiors.

Addressee honorifics (Krama) appear as variants for about two thousand words in Javanese (Jay, 1969:241). Reference honorifics (Krama inggil) occur less frequently. Uhlenbeck (1970:449) mentions about two hundred fifty actor reference honorifics. When no Krama inggil form exists, the Krama term can be used for respectable reference (Uhlenbeck, 1970:450). There are even fewer non-actor reference honorifics (Krama andap).

The addressee honorifics appear with more commonly used words. Krama inggil (reference honorifics) words are all person-centered. There are words for the body and its parts, as well as for common human actions and activities (Uhlenbeck, 1970:449).

Javanese also features the phenomenon of Basa kedaton (court language) (Loeb, 1944:116). These are bystander honorific forms used by all the men in the presence of the prince although they are not used by him or in speaking to him. Persons in the court speak Krama to the prince, while he uses Ngoko (ordinary) forms in talking to others and reference honorifics in referring to himself.

Madurese

Madurese is spoken in eastern Java by about six million people. It has been influenced considerably by Javanese (Uhlenbeck, 1964), and contains a similar system of honorifics.

Kasar, the ordinary forms, contrast with Alus, the addressee and reference honorifics. Among addressee speech levels, besides Kasar (used to inferior/intimate) and Alus (used to superiors/or to familiars in formal circumstances), two forms exist: Tanja is in the "middle," and is similar to Javanese Madya; Biasa is composed of words that have no Kasar-alus pairs. Among reference honorifics are Alus tinghi, which shows respect to the actor in a sentence, and Alus mandhap, which shows honor to the non-actor. Somewhat fewer words have honorific equivalents in Madurese compared to Javanese (Stevens, 1965).

Names with title and elaborated pronouns in the first and second persons occur in Madurese. Proper names

or titles can be substituted for first person pronouns; and name, title, or title-plus-name can be used in place of second person pronouns. There are at least four forms for the first person: sinkoq is the ordinary form used when speaking to inferior/intimates; ka'ula is a respectful form used in speaking to superiors; bula is a "middle" form; and bhadhan ka'ula is a reference honorific that humbles the speaker and thus shows respect to the person who is in the non-actor position. The first three of these first person forms correspond to the following second person pronouns, respectively: bagna, sanpian, and dhika. The fourth form panzhanayan, however, is an actor reference honorific, and gives respect to the superior person directly (Stevens, 1968:207).

The following sentences provide examples of Madurese honorifics. Reference forms occur in all three sentences, and addressee honorifics also appear in Sentence 2. Sentences 1 and 2 both have the same denotative meaning, but Sentence 1 is spoken to a younger brother, and Sentence 2 to the father (Stevens, 1965:299-300).

1.	ibhu	apa	ala	N-dhaar?
	mother	question particle	already	to eat
	Reference honorific	(ordinary form)	(ordinary form)	Reference honorific
	Has mother eaten?			

2.	ibhu	punap	ampun	N-dhaar?
	mother	question particle	already	to eat
	Reference honorific	Addressee honorific	Addressee honorific	Reference honorific
3.	aliq	si	təru	ka buku' i-maturaghi
	younger sibling	Part	to want	to book to be told
				Non-actor reference honorific
	daq	ibhu		
	to	mother		
		Reference honorific		

Mother was told that brother wanted a book.

The reference honorifics in Sentences 1 and 2 show respect to the mother. However, the question particle and "already" are, in Sentence 1, in an ordinary form, while addressee honorific forms are used for both in Sentence 2. This difference reflects the fact that Sentence 1 is spoken to a younger brother to whom respect is not required, while Sentence 2 is spoken to the father to whom respect must be shown. In Sentence 3 a non-actor reference honorific is used for the action directed to the mother because the mother is the receiver of the action of "telling" (Stevens, 1965:300).

According to Stevens (1965:300):

The grammatical structure of the sentence is irrelevant to the use of alus tinghi [actor honorific] or alus mandhap [non-actor honorific] words. It is the actual performer (AT) or recipient (AM) of the action who is taken into account, not simply the grammatical subject or object of the sentence.

The elaboration of honorifics in Madurese occurs in a limited number of semantic categories having to do with people. They include body parts, body action, personal effects including clothes, and sense impressions, as well as all pronouns (Stevens, 1965:296). As in Javanese, all parts of speech are represented with honorific equivalents. However, in the case of Alus tinghi only verbs and nouns are represented, and in the case of Alus mandhap only verbs are represented.

Thai

Terms of address and pronouns in Thai vary, depending on the relative status and relationship between speaker and hearer. In speaking to servants, the name or occupational term can be employed with no prefix, or more frequently the term nai is placed before the name. Koon, which indicates more respect than nai, is always used for persons of greater social distance. Both nai and koon can also be used alone, acting as terms of address or reference (Campbell and Shaweevongse, 1957:35). Thus, koon can be used as a respectful pronoun by either a male

or female to a male or female in both second and third persons. Tahn is a more respect-laden term used in both second and third persons to speak about or to refer to someone of high rank. Ter, in contrast, is used for intimate peers or inferiors. Variation is also present in first person pronouns (Campbell and Shaweevongse, 1957: 129-130). Different forms are also used in addressing royalty (Jaeger, 1977:8), and first and second person pronouns are sometimes avoided (Cooke, 1968:10).

Speakers of Thai use a large group of respectful words which have common equivalents to speak to or about royalty (Rahchah Sup). Another group of words is used in speaking to or about Buddhist priests. The following sentence, taken from a Thai translation of a short story, illustrates this usage: "Recently, the queen came and stayed in our forest." Because it is referring to the queen's coming, a reference honorific sadet, 'come,' is used. Ordinarily, we would find the verb ma (Holt, 1980).

In the case of other relationships in Thai society, not including the royal family, some addressee honorifics exist while reference honorifics are rare. Among addressee honorifics there are a group of two or more words that have the same meaning except that one is more "polite or formal" than the other commonly used form. More formal usage occurs in written language than in conversation.

Conversational usage contains both levels, and depends on relative "age, intimacy, and relative social status" of speaker and hearer (Campbell and Shaweevongse, 1957:16). In addition, there are two sentence final particles, krup (man speaking), and ka (woman speaking), which signify respect toward the addressee. The particles are also used depending on the relative intimacy/status of the speaker and addressee.

The following examples illustrate this usage. In Sentence 1 a student asks a professor, "Did you eat rice?" In Sentence 2 a student asks a good friend the same question.

- | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-----------|--------|----------|--------|----------------------|
| 1. | ajarn | tan | kao ru | young | ka? | |
| | professor | eat | rice | | | |
| | | Honorific | | Question | | Politeness
Marker |
| | Did you (professor) eat rice? | | | | | |
| 2. | ter | kin | kao | ru | young? | |
| | you | eat | rice | | | |
| | | | | Question | | |
| | Did you eat rice? | | | | | |

Sentence 1 contains the sentence final politeness marker ka, because it is addressed to a professor. In addition, ajarn, 'professor,' is preferred to a second person pronoun, and the verb tan, 'eat,' is an honorific form. In Sentence 2 however, ka does not appear, and the familiar second person pronoun ter is employed along with kin,

'eat,' which shows intimacy with the person addressed who is a good friend.

In Sentences 3 and 4 there is a contrast between a student talking to a professor about another student (Sentence 3), and a student talking to another student about a professor (Sentence 4).

3. (name) tan kao ru young ka
 name eat rice
 Honorific Question Politeness marker

Did the student eat rice?

4. ajarn kin kao ru young
 professor eat rice
 Question

Sentence 3 contains the respectful particle ka and tan, 'to eat.' Sentence 4, on the other hand, does not contain respect terms even though the professor is the one eating, because the sentence was spoken to another student.¹

Korean

In Korean it is possible to show respect to the addressee or referent by adding a title to a person's name or position. A commonly used title is nim, which is suffixed to a person's position with name optionally

1. According to my consultant, some persons may use the respectful tan, 'to eat,' in Sentence 4. For those persons it may function as a reference honorific, or it may be similar to Japanese bikago, and simply be a mark of the speaker's politeness.

preceding it. Another title, sensayng, shows even more respect, as in Kim sensayng, 'Mr. Kim,' or hak kyo sensayng, 'teacher' (Martin and Lee, 1969:8). In addition, certain kin terms can be extended to a non-kin person, such as acessi, 'uncle,' which can be used to address any man. Usually, older relatives are addressed by kin term and younger relatives by name.

Pronouns exist in Korean, but many times, as in Japanese, the pronoun is understood by context, and is not overtly present. Although there are pronoun forms for first and second persons singular, na and ne, other noun forms often substitute for them (Ramstedt, 1960:46). For example, the most respectful way to say "you" is by using a title or name plus title. Some other nouns that can be substituted for "you" mean "elder brother," "the person in question," "Mr.," "this side," "teacher," "owner," etc. Some nouns that can be substituted for "I" include "younger brother," "little man," "small person," and "servant."

Among verbs, Korean primarily employs morphological devices to mark reference and addressee honorifics. Martin (1964:408) distinguishes six types of addressee honorifics and one reference honorific. Among the addressee honorifics three are used in the "outgroup." Whereas Japanese has plain, polite, and deferential, Korean also contains intimate na, familiar e, and authoritative s. Reference

honorifics are marked by the infix (u)si which will attach to almost all verbs. In frequency of distribution it appears to be closest to Japanese (r)areru.

In the example below, a wife speaks about her husband to an acquaintance (Payk, 1980:278).

eceypam	an	tule	o.siess.nun	tey	yo
last night		come	back		
	Negative	Reference			Addressee
		honorific			honorific

(He) didn't come home last night.

It contains the polite addressee honorific yo that showed respect to the hearer. The verb "come" refers to the husband's coming, and a reference honorific si is used to show him respect.²

Although Korean primarily uses morphological devices to mark honorifics, there are a few common verbs that have lexical equivalents to mark reference honorifics (e.g., "eat," "sleep," "stay"). Even fewer noun equivalents exist (e.g., "house," "age," and "person"), and there is no morphological process to form honorific nouns as there is for verbs.

2. In Japanese, a wife would not use an actor honorific to refer to her husband in the same situation. In speaking to someone outside the family, she would refer to her husband with the same speech level as she would refer to herself.

There are also two particles that can be reference honorific markers. Kkey is used after a noun denoting a special honored person when something is given to that person (see example below). Kkey se is also used after a noun denoting an esteemed person when something is received from that person. Both of these forms can function as oblique subjects (Martin and Lee, 1969:108). They appear to function as non-actor reference honorifics.

Sensayng-nim kkey se uy phyen'ci-lul pat.ess.ey yo
 teacher-Title from letter-Object received

Reference
 honorific

Addressee
 honorific

(I) received a letter from the teacher.

Comparing Korean to Japanese, consultants for this study indicated similar selectional restrictions in the formation of reference honorifics. Korean is similar to Japanese in that a human performer is required to trigger an honorific,³ and honorification is not possible with verbs that carry negative connotations.

3. Korean allows "snow" and "rain" to trigger reference honorifics in a situation where it has not rained for a long time. Persons may say:

pi-ka	naylisinta
rain-Subject	falling
	Reference honorific
The rain is falling	

It appears that rain and snow function in this sentence as animate nouns.

Tibetan

Tibetan is spoken by about three million people in the Himalayan states. Lhasa is the central dialect, and has very complex honorifics in all parts of speech except numbers and conjunctions. Other dialects such as Kashmir have fewer honorifics which occur only in pronouns and verbs (Kitamura, 1974:69-70).

Among terms of address, name and name-plus-title alternate depending on the circumstances. The title la is suffixed to names to show respect much as san does in Japanese. Using a name without la indicates that the person is an inferior/intimate.

Among pronouns, there is elaboration of forms in the second and third persons. In the second person there is an ordinary form khērāā, 'you,' and a non-honorific form khōra. The second person pronoun apparently is not used to refer to a superior. Rather, it is the non-honorific domain that is elaborated with pronouns meaning "you." In the third person the ordinary form used to refer to an inferior/intimate is qhō, and the honorific form used to refer to a superior is qhōō.

While all verbs and many nouns have honorific equivalents, there are only a few adjectives and adverbs with honorific equivalents (Kitamura, 1974:82; and Goldstein and Nornang, 1970:xx). Among verbs, some are

formed by a separate lexical item, and some are formed by suffixing nãã, 'to do,' to the ordinary form. Some nouns have two completely different lexical forms, one ordinary and the other honorific. For some other pairs of nouns, part of the ordinary form and the honorific form are the same. Of these nouns some only have a different prefix. However, there are no common prefixes used with large numbers of words (Kitamura, 1974:86).

There is some confusion among scholars concerning the types of honorifics in Tibetan. One of the earliest descriptions in 1834 by Koros (1970:32) said that honorifics are used "when speaking respectfully to, of, or before superiors." Wylie (1981) says that honorifics are used in speaking to or about socially superior persons. Goldstein and Nornang (1970:xx) say that honorifics are used in speaking to certain persons. Kitamura (1974:75) however, distinguishes sonkeigo (actor reference honorifics) and kenjōgo (non-actor reference honorifics). He also claims that it is possible for a single term to be both an actor reference and non-actor reference honorific. This may account for some of the difficulty in distinguishing the two types.

A limited number of dialogues borrowed from Goldstein and Nornang (1970:172) permit the identification of both actor and non-actor reference honorifics.

1. lāmee, kamcuù nāārṣṣnāās suupareè

bless me

Actor reference
honorific

Polite request
(to superior)

Lama, please bless me.

2. lamsāā lāmee qūṭūū la cāās sūūpareè.

at once Lama presence go

Honorific

Non-actor
honorific

Polite
request

Go at once to the presence of a Lama.

In Sentence 1 the actor reference honorific is used because the Lama is doing the blessing. In Sentence 2, however, the object of the action (to the Lama) triggers the honorific, generating a non-actor reference type. This construction is similar to Japanese kenjōgo or Javanese Krama andap where the object of the action triggers honorification.

Addressee type honorifics in Tibetan are apparently limited to the particle lā which can show respect to the addressee when answering a question. The relative status of the addressee determines whether the answer to that person will begin with lā or whether it will be omitted. The absense of addressee honorifics in verbs is demonstrated in a conversation where one man accuses another of stealing gold. He says to the lord before whom they are arguing their case, "Tashi has stolen the gold." Honorifics are neither used in that sentence, nor in

Tashi's reply (Goldstein and Nornang, 1970:179). If verb addressee honorifics existed, one would expect their appearance in speech directed to a lord.

Honorifics are the marked forms in Tibetan and are generally longer than non-honorific forms. Semantic distinctions that are made between ordinary forms are collapsed at times among honorifics. Two or more ordinary words may have only one honorific equivalent, e.g., śhim`zhim, 'delicious,' and gyíbskyid, 'comfortable,' have the same honorific equivalent drospro (Kitamura, 1974:71).

The semantic areas in which nouns tend to be elaborated include those related to the body, clothes, food, living, tools, human relationships, and mental feelings. The semantic areas in which nouns tend not to have honorific equivalents include astronomy, earth, minerals, animals, and plants. (Some exceptions are heaven, sun, moon, rain, wind, and dog.) (Kitamura, 1974:72)

Dzongkha

Dzongkha is a language spoken in Bhutan. It is related to Tibetan, and the respect forms of the two languages have many similarities.

Both name and name plus title are used in Dzongkha. Titles are occupational in character with name following title, e.g., dasho (name). Dasho is used for officials below the status of minister, for example, including clerk,

and policeman. Other titles also exist for teachers or priests, for example, but general titles are not used in Dzongkha as in the Tibetan la or the Japanese san. These titles can either stand alone or in conjunction with a name. There is also a name taboo that prohibits addressing a prince directly by name, although his name with appropriate title can be referred to when not in his presence.

The first person pronoun is nga, and the second person pronoun is chhoe, with no honorific elaboration for either. However, the second person pronoun is never used to refer to a superior; it is only used for an intimate/inferior. For example, a teacher can say to a student, "Is that your cup?", but the student cannot reciprocate with the same question. Rather, he must say the equivalent of "Is that the teacher's cup?" The use of "teacher" instead of "you" illustrates that second person pronouns are avoided with superiors.

Actor reference honorifics are expressed in both nouns and verbs. In the case of addressee honorifics the form la can be attached to the end of a sentence. The following examples illustrate this usage.

- | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|-----------|-------------------|---|----|----------|
| 1. | Lama Sonam | sewoo | s ^h ze | e | ga | mo? |
| | Lama | rice | eat | | | |
| | | Reference | Reference | | | Question |
| | | honorific | honorific | | | |
| | Did Lama Sonam eat rice? | | | | | |

2. Kho to za e ga mo la?

he rice eat

	Addressee
Question	honorific

Did he eat rice?

Sentence 1 is spoken to an acquaintance about a Lama who has high status in that society. The honorific form shze is used to refer to the Lama's action of eating, and sewoo is used to refer to the rice (meal) that he eats. A superior to the speaker (but lower than a Lama), such as a teacher, would still receive the same honorific verb and noun. Sentence 2 is spoken to a Lama, but "he" refers to the speaker's friend. In that case no reference honorifics are used, but la is attached at the end of the sentence and shows respect to the Lama who is being addressed. In speaking to a friend this sentence would be used without the final la. It is also possible that a nickname would be used in the place of the pronoun kho, 'he.'

Hindi

The giving of respect in Hindi can occur in a number of ways (Jain, 1969). The ways to show respect include using titles, polite vocabulary items, using plural forms of pronouns and verbs where the singular would be semantically appropriate, speaking in a low pitch, or avoiding speaking.

Jain (1969:81-82) lists twelve different titles that can be ranked by degree of formality of the relationship that they mark. Some are preposed to names or occupational terms (Shri, Mr., and Babu), and are more formal than those that are suffixed (e.g., sahab and ji). Titles such as Mr., Sahab, and Babu can be used alone without attachment to name or occupational terms, while other forms need an attachment.

Certain pronoun forms also allow a person to express respect. Plural forms used with singular referents become terms of respect. In the second person three terms exist: tū, tum, and āp. Tum and āp are plural forms, but when used as plurals, log is attached to them, producing tumlog and āplog. Tū tends to be used with a person who is an inferior, or who is socially close to the speaker. The use of tum shows somewhat more respect, and āp is employed with superiors or persons who are of greater social distance.

Only a few verbs and nouns are lexically marked as honorifics (Jain, 1969:83). These include words that operate similarly to Japanese actor reference honorifics where the referent (or the referent's action or belongings) is shown respect by an honorific form, and non-actor reference honorifics where the speaker refers to himself, his own actions, or possessions with a humble form. There

appear to be more actor reference type honorific forms without non-actor reference equivalents than non-actor forms without actor type honorifics (Jain, 1969:84).

Several of these honorific lexical forms can be attached to other words to produce an honorific expression, e.g., farmānā, attaches to some verbs in that way to generate honorific forms. Thus, ārām karna, 'to rest,' becomes an honorific form as ārām farmānā.

In addition to these lexical honorifics, there are also grammatical ways to express politeness. When a plural form of a pronoun is used for a singular referent to show respect, then verbs, adjectives, and postpositions also become plural to agree with the plural subject, as in the example below (Jain, 1969:94).

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|---------|----|----------|--------|--------|---------------|
| 1. | rām | dasrath | ke | sabse | bare | larke | the |
| | Ram | Desrath | of | all | old | Son | were |
| | | | | Singular | Plural | Plural | Plural Plural |

Ram was the eldest son of Dashrath.

Even though the person being discussed, Ram, is singular, plural forms are used for the noun, verb, adjective, and postposition.

Reference honorifics occur in Hindi verbs and nouns, but addressee forms do not as Sentence 2 illustrates from a novel (Jainendra, 1962:31), where a woman is speaking to a man who is socially superior to her:

2. āp yahā se nikāl deṅge to yahā
 You here from turn-out auxiliary then here
 Plural Plural
 se bhī nikal jāūṅgī
 from too get-out auxiliary
 Singular

If you will turn me out from here, then I will get out from here too.

In Sentence 2 the woman uses the respectful plural for "you" and "turn-out," but no other place in the sentence. This reflects the fact that she is referring to the socially superior person with those two words, but in the rest of the sentence refers to herself and her actions, and thus does not use any plural forms to show respect.

The next two examples demonstrate the presence of reference honorifics and the absence of address honorifics.

3. māstarjī jā rahe haī
 go- -ing is
 Plural Plural

The teacher is going.

4. merā bhāī jā rahā hai
 go- -ing is
 Singular Singular

My brother is going.

Sentence 3 can be said to a second teacher or a friend: the sentence does not change, but it contains an

honorific plural because it refers to the teacher in both situations. Likewise, Sentence 4 contains no honorific plural marker when this sentence is spoken to a friend or to a teacher, because "my brother" does not receive a respect marker.

Malayalam

Malayalam, of the Dravidian family, is spoken by some fourteen million people on the west coast of India. Honorification in Malayalam is generated chiefly through affixes to names, choice of pronouns, verb endings, and a few lexical honorifics in verbs and nouns.

Caste can determine the suffix to a personal name for men; and for women, more indirect indications of caste are used. For example, the term tampuran for males and tampuratti for females is given to persons of royal status by everyone else or to persons of higher castes by members of the low castes (Chandrasekhar, 1977:86). The borrowed English title Mr. adds a higher degree of respect when attached to a caste name (e.g., Mr. Menon). Other forms also occur, depending in part on regional variation.

Pronouns are highly elaborated with as many as twelve singular forms for both the second and third persons (Chandrasekhar, 1970: 247, 250-251). In the second person, the singular form ni is used with a close friend or social inferior, and the plural form niṇṇal is used as a

more polite term but usually with equals. The more extreme honorific forms come from terms meaning "master," "from there," "the respectable," or "the auspicious body." Names with a caste suffix often appear in the place of second person pronouns when the speaker occupies an equal or lower position and intends to give respect.

Some variation in verb endings can occur with different second person pronouns (Chandrasekhar, 1977:90-91). For example, nī, 'you,' (no politeness involved) is used with the verb "come" as vā. With the somewhat more polite niñṇal, the suffix ru is attached, varu; or to make it even more polite, in is attached, varin. With honorific forms such as tampurān, 'you,' (literally, "the auspicious body") the form of the verb "come" which is employed is atiyiruttanam, which is highly polite.

These honorifics appear to be triggered by the status of the person referred to and not by the person who is being addressed (when those are different persons). The following two versions of the sentence, "Where did he go?" illustrate this:

1. avan evide poyi
 he where go-Past
2. addheham evide poyi
 he where go-Past

In Sentence 1 "he" is a friend of the speaker, and the

sentence is spoken to a socially superior person. In Sentence 2, "he" is a socially superior person, and the sentence is being spoken to a friend. Addheham, 'he,' is more polite, and is used when referring to the socially superior person. This indicates that the person referred to is the trigger for honorification, not the person addressed.

Malayalam differs from other Dravidian languages in that there is no subject-verb agreement in number (George, 1971:42). Because plurals are not marked on the verb in Malayalam, honorification of verbs does not occur with the use of plurals.

There is also a special vocabulary in Malayalam called ācāravākkukal, which is used in addressing and referring to members of royalty and to Manputiri Brahmins (Chandrasekhar, 1977:92). According to the consultant for this study, usage of this special vocabulary is quite rare. These double sets of nouns and verbs are mostly common ones with one honorific form used to refer to the other person and his actions, and with the second humble form used to refer to oneself or a person associated with oneself. Chandrasekhar (1977:93-94) gives a sample of forty common words; thirty-four of those have honorific equivalents, while thirty-one have humble equivalents.

Kannada

Kannada is another Dravidian language, spoken by about fifteen million people in Mysore, Hyderabad, and the adjoining districts of Bombay and Madras. Honorification in Kannada is achieved primarily through address forms and the use of plural forms with a singular referent.

Address forms in Kannada include the variation of name and name plus title. The titles Sri (for males) and Smt (for females) precede the name in addressing most persons outside of the family, both equals and superiors. Another respect term, ji, is suffixed to the name, and babn is ordinarily used with children. They are omitted when talking to intimates or inferiors. Another way to show respect is by adding the plural marker to the name. As in many other languages, kinship terms are used to senior kinsmen as a way of showing respect, and senior kinsmen address persons belonging to junior categories by name (Bean, 1978:66-68).

Variation also exists between two forms of the second person pronoun. The singular form ninu is used to equals or inferiors, but the plural form nivu is employed for a singular referent when that person is superior to the speaker.

Plural forms used in the context of singular referents can denote respect for that person. When a

- In Sentence 1 the possessive pronoun "his" has a singular referent, but the plural form is used. This shows respect to the poet who is being discussed. In Sentence 2 Gandhi is followed with the title ji, which gives respect to him, and the verb "struggled" is in the plural form, again showing him respect. The plural is used to show respect to the person referred to, not the person addressed when the two are different. This indicates reference honorifics are present, but addressee honorifics seem not to be marked with plurality.

Guugu Yimidhirr

Guugu Yimidhirr is an aboriginal language of North Queensland, and has in common with other Australian languages the linguistic means to show respect to certain affines (see Dixon, 1980, for a description of these languages).

These "mother-in-law" languages generally contain the same phonology and grammar as the ordinary language, but special lexical items substitute for some of the ordinary words to show respect to the tabooed relative. This special vocabulary generally is used in the presence of a parent-in-law of the opposite sex, and sometimes by the parent-in-law in speaking to a child-in-law of the opposite sex. The extent of this special vocabulary varied greatly among languages from a score to hundreds of words. This special language was only part of a larger politeness/avoidance behavior. A person was not allowed to approach too closely or look directly at a taboo relative, and direct communication was often avoided with the occasional exception of talk in "slow, soft voices, almost approaching a whisper" (Dixon, 1980:59)

In Guugu Yimidhirr, a man cannot speak directly to his mother-in-law, and must remain silent in her presence (Haviland, 1979a:32). This speech was used in the presence

of brother-in-law and father-in-law. Haviland calls it brother-in-law language.

This special language in Guugu Yimidhirr functions as bystander honorifics in the presence of certain in-laws. However, these forms also function as addressee honorifics in speaking directly to a brother-in-law, and they can (in at least some of the Australian languages) also function as reference honorifics (Dixon, 1980:60).

The examples below show the difference between special forms and ordinary forms. Both sentences mean, "I want to eat food." (Haviland, 1979b:368-369).

1. Ngayu mayi buda-nhu
 1 sq + NOM Food + ABS eat-PURP
2. Ngayu gudhubay bambanga-nhu.

The underlined words are the ordinary forms in Sentence 1 and the brother-in-law forms in Sentence 2.

As in other Australian languages, a single brother-in-law term corresponds to more than one ordinary term. For example, the special word balil is equivalent to a group of words meaning "go," "walk," "crawl," "paddle" (in a boat), "float," "sail," and etc. (Haviland, 1979b:370). Various syntactic and derivational devices are used to make the more general brother-in-law word semantically more specific, e.g., "go" (balil, brother-in-law language), substitutes for "float" (dhaarmbil); so "water" (wabiirr)

is added to "go": balil wabiirr-bi, "to go on water" (Haviland, 1979c:218). An additional feature of the special language words is that they are generally longer than the common words which they can replace. Borrowed words are sometimes used as a source for brother-in-law lexical items (Haviland, 1979c:220)

Certain everyday words do not have brother-in-law equivalents, including words for various sexual organs and acts. The degree of respect associated with different words is somewhat more complex than a simple dichotomy between ordinary forms and brother-in-law language (Haviland, 1979c:221,226). This indicates that there is a continuum from avoidance of certain words to various levels of respect forms to ordinary forms.

The vocabulary of respectful words is not elaborated randomly. "Common" words tend to have brother-in-law equivalents more often than other words. The Guugu Yimidhirr brother-in-law vocabulary has elaborated words related to parts, actions and states of the body, including seeing, speaking, hearing, bodily movements, sleep, and sickness. Guugu Yimidhirr also has special terms for animals, food, plants, and weather (Haviland, 1979b:392).

The brother-in-law language of Guugu Yimidhirr differs from the other honorific systems described in this chapter in that it is based on kinship rather than social

status. Furthermore, the distinction among reference, addressee, and bystander types of honorifics is not clear, if in fact such a distinction is possible. This special language is similar to the other honorific systems in that certain affines have "higher status," and consequently receive the special language but address the son-in-law or daughter-in-law with ordinary language. The special language vocabulary items tend to have a broader semantic range than the ordinary forms like other honorifics, and the special vocabulary appears to be elaborated in similar semantic domains.

Variations of Reference Honorifics in Parts of Speech

Three types of honorifics have been evident in this sample of ten languages: reference, addressee, and bystander. Reference forms are the most numerous, occurring in every language examined. They refer to a person, his name, pronouns, his actions, or material items closely related to his person; but their degree of elaboration varies considerably among the languages. Addressee honorifics occur somewhat less frequently, and may be present in sentence level particles, morphological, or lexical alternatives.⁴

4. Brown and Levinson (1979:318) point out that addressee honorifics can occur anyplace in the linguistic system, including prosodics and special particles. The latter two are not present in reference honorifics.

Bystander honorifics are the least numerous, appearing in only two languages in this sample: Guugu Yimidhirr and Javanese court language. They appear to be distributed in a similar way to addressee honorifics.

While honorific elaboration varies in the ten languages, forms do not appear in a random manner. A systematic comparison of languages reveals regularities in the way honorific forms appear in different parts of speech, in the vocabulary affected, and in the types of honorifics that appear. Different languages use various strategies in order to form reference and addressee honorifics, but honorification spreads through languages in similar ways.

At an early stage, it appears that all languages have at least a few lexical honorifics before morphological ones develop. However, in some languages morphological forms do not appear, although the number of lexical items continues to increase. Whether lexical or morphological honorifics develop depends on the type of language and the particular mechanisms available in that language. Languages traditionally called agglutinative use morphological processes and develop honorifics in that way. Other languages that tend not to use morphological processes develop lexical honorifics.

In the case of reference honorifics, some languages use lexical elaboration, and others use morphological forms to signal respect. Morphological honorifics have various sources, including those formed by the use of plurals (e.g., Kannada), or those formed by attaching a particular lexical item to other ordinary words (e.g., Hindi, farmānā), or those formed by other morphological processes where the origin of the form is not readily apparent.

The use of plurals is one place where the presence or absence of a mechanism determines the method of honorific formation. In some languages plurals also carry honorific meaning, especially in second person pronouns. However, other languages do not use plural markers for that purpose. Closer examination reveals that those languages with obligatory plural/singular categories are those that use the plural as an honorific marker, but those that do not have obligatory plural/singular categories are those that do not use plurals to form honorifics. In the present sample Hindi, Malayalam, and Kannada have obligatory plural and singular distinctions, and use plurals to form honorifics. The other eight languages do not. (Guugu Yimidhirr uses a plural to form a polite second person pronoun.) This demonstrates that a language uses the mechanisms available to it to develop lexical and/or morphological honorifics.

Whichever method a language uses to form honorifics (and some use more than one), honorifics tend to appear in a certain order. That is, if a language has overt reference honorifics present, then we can make predictions about where those honorifics will appear in the language. And if certain honorifics do appear, we can also predict which other ones will also be present.

Based on the sample of languages examined here, reference honorification occurs in the following implicational order:⁵

Naming $\rightarrow$ Pronouns $\rightarrow$ Verbs $\rightarrow$ Nouns $\rightarrow$ (Other).

This means that the presence of honorifics at any stage presupposes elaboration of all previous stages. For instance, if a language elaborates honorifics among its pronouns, then it also elaborates the way in which persons are named with kinship terms and titles; or if adjectives, adverbs, and particles contain reference honorifics then all the other parts of speech will be elaborated. Table 5 illustrates this progression of honorific elaboration among the languages examined in this dissertation. English and German are added for comparative purposes. Guugu

5. Additional adjustments may turn out to be necessary with the examination of data from other languages. It may turn out that name plus titles and pronouns as well as verb and noun categories should be telescoped:

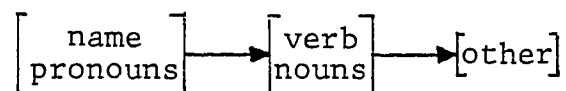


Table 5. The Presence of Reference Honorifics
in Different Parts of Speech for a
Sample of Languages

Language	Name+title	Pronouns	Verbs	Nouns	Other
English	+				
German	+	+			
Thai	+	+	(+) ¹	(+) ¹	
Japanese	+	+	+	(+)	
Madurese	+	+	+	(+)	
Korean	+	+	+	(+)	(+)
Malayalam	+	+	+	+	
Kannada	+	+	+	+	
Dzongkha	+	+ ²	+	+	
Tibetan	+	+ ²	+	+	+
Hindi	+	+	+	+	+
Japanese	+	+	+	+	+

+ = regular usage

(+)= rare usage

1 = Used primarily for royalty

2 = Second person pronoun is used only for equal or inferior; other terms are used for superiors.

Yimidhirr is omitted since whether or not it contains reference honorifics is not clear.⁶

Honorification Related to Names

In this sample of languages, name and name plus title alternate depending on the referent. In some languages there are both titles that show general respect to everyone and titles that are occupationally based (e.g., Japanese). However, in at least one language (Dzongkha) there appear to be only occupational titles, which may indicate that a language containing general titles also will have occupational titles. The converse is not necessarily true. When more than one general title can be appropriately applied, those titles can be ranked by the degree of respect that they indicate. This elaboration varies among these languages from one general term in Tibetan to a dozen or more terms in Hindi.

It can be argued that kinship terms function similarly to honorifics in that the social position of the

6. Guugu Yimidhirr does not have elaboration of names except kin terms. (It does elaborate second person pronouns.) If we define honorifics as frozen politeness forms which convey information about social distance between persons, then kinship terms can be seen as closely related since they also convey information about social relationships. In many languages spoken in larger scale societies, names and titles are employed; but for some languages in smaller scale societies kinship (actual or fictive) alone forms the basis for classifying persons in the social universe. Kinship terms can signal the degree of respect given to a person in a similar way as choosing a title with a name.

addressee or referent determines the appropriate lexical choice. It is also significant to note that kinship terms and names alternate in many languages (though not all) so that the older relative is called by a kin term while the younger relative is called by name. This occurs in a number of languages examined here, including (among others) Japanese, Javanese, Madurese, Korean, and Hindi.

Honorification of Pronouns

For most languages elaboration of honorifics in pronouns occurs in the second person and less frequently in the first and third persons. In this particular sample of languages, honorific elaboration of pronouns in the first and/or third persons means that the language also elaborates the second person. However, Van Valin (1981) reports an exception in certain varieties of Zapotec spoken in Oaxaca, Mexico; and Head (1978) found a few exceptions among his sample of more than one hundred languages with elaborated pronoun systems. So this statement would be a statistical implicational universal.

In this sample of ten languages honorific elaboration among second person pronouns occurs in all languages except one, Dzongkha. However, closer examination of this apparent exception reveals that the second person pronoun is used only to refer to a social equal or inferior; it is never used to a superior. In addressing

or referring to a superior in Dzongkha, an appropriate title with or without name is used instead of a pronoun. The semantic space of second person pronoun addressed to a social superior is empty in that language. There is no available word comparable to the second person pronoun for addressing an equal or inferior. However, titles used for superiors function as pronouns, so Dzongkha does not represent a true exception.

Avoidance of second person pronouns for superiors turns out to be not all that unusual in this sample of languages. Tibetan has two forms for second person pronouns, but neither can be used to a superior. Even in a language such as Japanese that has numerous forms that can function in the second person, they are not necessarily used with a social superior. For example, even with anata, 'you,' which is often considered the most respectful form, there is resistance among native speakers to use that form with superiors. The same is true in Malayalam where the second person plural can be used as a respectful term, though it is usually limited to equals. Other nominal expressions are used to superiors. In Thai, both first and second person pronouns are avoided when speaking to royalty.

This indicates that pronouns, and particularly the second person, are extremely sensitive markers of social relations in the world's languages. Languages with no

second person pronouns for superiors is analogous to a car that will not start because the carburetor is flooded with gasoline. It appears that too much pressure toward showing respect may lead to "flooding out" where no pronoun form is available.

Honorification of Verbs and Nouns

If a language elaborates verbs and nouns, then it also elaborates pronouns and ways of naming persons. There is also some evidence that the presence of honorification among nouns also implicates their presence among verbs. Again, the converse is not necessarily true.

Thus, implicational order is suggested by the relative absence of reference honorifics among nouns in Javanese, Madurese, and Korean. In Javanese and Madurese, there are only a handful of reference honorifics among nouns, but hundreds of verbs have honorific equivalents. In Korean there appear to be only three or four nouns, but many verbs with honorific equivalents.

Other evidence indicating that honorification occurs in verbs before nouns is the morphological elaboration of honorifics in Hindi, Korean, and Japanese. In Hindi it is possible to attach the reference honorific farmanā to some other verbs to make them honorific. There is no similar morphological process in Hindi to form reference honorifics from nouns. Korean similarly has

morphological processes to form extensive addressee and reference honorifics among verbs, but no similar processes for nouns. Japanese is somewhat different in that both verbs and nouns are elaborated. However, while there are numerous ways to form both addressee and reference honorifics among verbs, there is a single common morphological process for nouns (o/go attachment). To the extent that more extensive elaboration measures the relative presence and absence of honorifics, this would seem to indicate that verb honorification is more basic.

If data from additional languages follows the pattern from this sample, one can conclude that elaboration of forms for reference honorifics tends to occur among verbs prior to nouns.

Honorification of Other Parts of Speech

The elaboration of honorifics among adverbs and/or adjectives and/or postpositions in any language implicates their presence among nouns, verbs, pronouns, and in naming. Japanese, Korean, and Hindi are the only languages in the sample which elaborate adjectives, adverbs, postpositions, or particles with reference honorifics. These languages also elaborate honorifics among nouns, verbs, pronouns, and terms of address, which supports the hypothesis that there is similar order for the appearance of reference honorifics in different parts of speech in all languages.

In Japanese there are a limited number of lexically formed adjectives and adverbs. However, only adjectives can be morphologically elaborated, and that elaboration is limited to actor honorifics and does not extend to non-actor forms as is the case among verbs and nouns. In Korean there are particles which are reference honorifics and which are used after a noun denoting an honored person when something is given to or received from that person. In Hindi plural forms are used as reference honorifics to show respect (Jain, 1969:88). In some cases plural forms of adjectives and postpositions are also used in this manner.

Variation of Addressee Honorification in Parts of Speech

In contrast to reference honorifics, no part of speech seems to be immune from addressee honorifics. In Tibetan for example, all parts of speech except conjunctions and numbers can be addressee honorifics (Kitamura, 1974:71). In Javanese, Krama (addressee) forms are present even among conjunctions. Madurese is similar to Javanese in having addressee honorifics in most parts of speech.

In other languages however, addressee honorifics are more restricted in their distribution. In Korean, verbs but not nouns can take various addressee morphological endings. In Japanese, addressee honorifics are

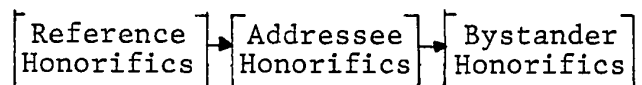
most clearly distinguished among verbs, but the honorific prefix o/go can also function as an addressee honorific among nouns in some situations. In other languages, addressee honorifics are very limited in their distribution. For example, Thai has two particles, ka and krup, used by men and women, respectively, to signal respect to an addressee. Dzongkha is similar in that la at the end of a sentence signals respect to the person addressed. According to Levinson (1977:44) Tamil also has certain particles (nka, taa, raa, and lii) which have no meaning of their own, but which, when attached to a major sentence segment, give respect to the addressee.

In the case of second person pronouns and terms of address, reference and addressee honorifics come together. That is, the same person who is being referred to is also being addressed. It is notable that it is precisely in these two places that honorification is most likely to occur.

To summarize, addressee honorifics can be formed either by elaborated lexical items or by morphological processes. Addressee honorifics can potentially affect almost all words, but it is usually the common words which have honorific equivalents. In some languages there are sentence level particles which function to show respect to the addressee.

Variation in Types of Honorifics

Reference, addressee, and bystander honorifics appear to be elaborated in a similar order among languages. Evidence for this relationship between reference and addressee honorifics is stronger than for the relationship between addressee and bystander types. The elaboration of one type of honorific is not independent of the elaboration of the other two types. The sample of languages indicates that reference honorifics appear more frequently than either addressee or bystander types, and addressee honorifics appear more frequently than bystander honorifics. In frequency of appearance they are in the following order:



Reference and Addressee Honorifics

A number of regularities in these three types of honorific elaboration can be observed among languages. In every language examined where both reference and addressee honorifics exist, the number of addressee honorifics that are elaborated is equal to or greater than the number of reference honorifics. So although addressee honorifics indicate the presence of reference honorifics, the addressee honorifics when present are equally or more widely spread through the language.

In Japanese for example, addressee honorific markers can be attached to any verb, while reference honorific markers can only be attached to some verbs. In Javanese thousands of Krama words (addressee honorifics) and only hundreds of Krama inggil (reference honorifics) exist. Madurese is similar to Javanese in this respect. In Korean affixes that form addressee and reference honorifics can attach to approximately the same number of verbs.

This common variation in the appearance of reference and addressee honorifics reflects the use to which they are put. Reference honorifics show respect to persons referred to in an utterance, while the addressee honorifics show respect to the person addressed. The former is limited to vocabulary that is associated with a person's belongings and actions; the latter can appear in the context of anything that is said to another person.

Another regularity in the elaboration of reference and addressee honorifics is the apparent need for certain reference honorifics before certain addressee honorifics can appear. For example, particles that express respect to the person spoken to can be present in languages that have elaboration of reference honorifics, at least in naming and pronouns. Thai provides an example of a language where reference honorifics are limited largely to naming and pronouns, but where particles can be used as addressee

honorifics. Tamil also contains reference types in naming, pronouns, and plural honorific markers in the grammar, and that language also contains sentence level addressee politeness markers (Levinson, 1977). Dzongkha contains numerous reference honorifics and also has a sentence level addressee honorific particle la.

Another place where the prior presence of reference honorifics can be observed is in relation to verbs and nouns. No language examined contains addressee markers in verbs or nouns unless reference honorifics are also present in verbs and nouns, respectively.

In Japanese, Javanese, and Madurese, there are reference and addressee honorifics in both verbs and nouns. However in Korean, while reference and addressee honorifics occur in verbs, only a handful of reference types and no addressee types exist among nouns. Hindi contains a limited morphological elaboration of reference honorifics among verbs (farmānā), but there are no addressee honorifics among verbs. Among Tibetan verbs and nouns, there are reference honorifics, but almost no addressee honorifics. This shows that the presence of reference honorifics is necessary for the development of addressee honorifics, but their presence does not necessarily mean that addressee honorifics will always occur.

Table 6. Types of Honorifics Present in Verbs
in a Sample of Languages

Language	Reference	Addressee	Bystander
Guugu Yimidhirr	1	x	x
Javanese	x	x	x ²
Madurese	x	x	
Japanese	x	x	
Korean	x	x	
Thai	x ³	x ⁴	
Tibetan	x		
Dzongkha	x		
Hindi	x		
Malayalam	x		
Kannada	x		

1. The information for Guugu Yimidhirr is not complete, although some Australian mother-in-law languages apparently include reference honorifics (Dixon, 1980:60).
2. This is limited to Javanese court language.
3. Thai contains reference honorifics among verbs in speaking about the royal family. A very few lexical honorifics are used in other contexts.
4. Limited to several verbs.

Addressee and Bystander Honorifics

Only two languages in the sample, Guugu Yimidhirr and Javanese court language, contain bystander honorifics. In Javanese the honorifics are true bystander honorifics in that those forms are used only in the presence of the king, but not in speaking to or about him. In the case of Guugu Yimidhirr, however, the situation is not as clear. The same forms can be used for both bystander and addressee in that the honorific forms can be used both in speaking to certain in-laws (whether or not there are bystanders), and in speaking within their hearing. The same forms are apparently also used as reference honorifics at least in some Australian languages.

Since the sample contains only two languages with bystander honorifics, the identification of regularities is somewhat tentative. Yet it is worth noting that the Javanese language contains both extensive reference and addressee honorifics, and it is in the highly stratified setting of the royal court that bystander honorifics are also present. In Guugu Yimidhirr it is also possible to see that addressee and bystander honorifics are related in that the same honorific forms are used for both.

Bystander honorifics can be viewed as a type of indirect addressee honorifics. At least it appears that addressee honorifics are more closely related to bystander

than reference types in that their distribution in the language tends to be similar. In addition, an addressee and bystander would seem conceptually closer to each other than the referent. Bystander honorifics are probably part of or develop out of addressee honorifics. Additional data will be necessary to establish this.

Variation in Reference Honorifics

Reference honorifics can be divided between actor and non-actor types. Actor type honorifics give respect to the person doing or experiencing the action, while the non-actor type gives respect to the recipient of the action. Non-actor honorifics can be further divided between those that give respect directly to the non-actor and those that give respect indirectly to the non-actor by humbling the actor involved in the interaction.

Actor honorifics appear to be more basic than non-actor honorifics. As evidence one can note that all languages with non-actor forms also contain actor honorifics, but the converse is not true. Among lexical honorifics the number of non-actor forms is always the same as or less than the number of actor honorifics in each language. And when morphological forms are employed, actor honorific forms attach to more words than non-actor types.

This inequality of distribution appears to hold for languages containing only a few honorific forms, as well as

those with extensive honorifics. In Japanese, non-actor honorifics can be formed on fewer verbs than actor honorifics. In Javanese, actor honorific words (Krama inggil) number about two hundred fifty, and non-actor honorific words (Krama andap) number less than one hundred. In Hindi and Tibetan, there are only a handful of non-actor honorifics compared to a greater number of actor honorifics. The number of Malayalam actor and non-actor honorific forms is more nearly the same, with thirty-four actor and thirty-one non-actor forms out of a total sample of forty common words.

Variation in Addressee Honorifics

Among addressee honorifics in this sample there is no distinction in linguistic forms similar to those that exist between actor and non-actor reference honorifics. However, it is possible to distinguish in Japanese between those addressee honorifics which are speaker-centered and those which are addressee-centered. Interestingly, the same seems to hold for Thai, according to the consultant for this study. Some persons use the ka/krup addressee politeness markers in speaking to everyone, showing themselves to be polite speakers. Other speakers of Thai discriminate among their interlocutors, limiting addressee usage to persons of greater social distance. Thai speakers seem to fit somewhere between these two types. A similar

Table 7. Presence of Actor and Non-actor
Honorifics Among a Sample of Languages

Language	Actor	Non-actor
Japanese	x	x
Javanese	x	x
Madurese	x	x
Tibetan	x	x
Malayalam	x	x
Hindi	x	x ¹
Korean	x	
Dzongkha	x	
Kannada	x	
1. These forms are very restricted.		

kind of variation with addressee honorifics apparently exists in Korean and Javanese as well.

Variation in Elaboration of
Honorific Vocabulary

Several general observations can be made about all honorific forms. First, in all the languages examined honorifics represent the marked forms which characteristically are morphologically and phonologically more complex than their unmarked counterparts (see Greenberg, 1966b; and Brown and Witkowski, 1981). For example, in English, plural forms are marked; singular forms are unmarked. The plural forms are more complex (e.g., "dog" vs. "dogs"), where the plural is marked with additional phoneme(s) s/z/iz. In all the languages examined, the honorific forms are marked, and the ordinary forms are unmarked. In every language the marked honorific forms were generally more complex (phonologically longer) than their unmarked counterparts.

Secondly, neutralization of semantic distinctions between ordinary forms tends to occur more frequently for honorifics.⁷ A great deal of variation in frequency of this neutralization occurs among languages. In Guugu Yimidhirr, one honorific form covers two or more ordinary

7. Harada (1975) mentions the similarity between Australian mother-in-law languages and Japanese in this respect.

forms for a large number of words. We can also observe the same process, though less frequently, in Japanese, where the honorific irassharu is the equivalent of the following ordinary terms: iku, 'go;' kuru, 'come;' iru, 'to be' (animate). In Javanese, one honorific word is frequently used in the place of two or more ordinary words (Loeb, 1944:114). In Madurese, the reference honorific form N-dhaar has the same meaning as the two ordinary forms N-kakan, 'to eat,' and N-inum, 'to drink.' An example was also given from Tibetan. Poppe (1970:486) gives a similar example for Mongolian where a similar semantic neutralization occurs: honorific ajira hon is equivalent to both yabu, 'go,' and ire, 'come.' From this evidence it appears likely that when semantic neutralization occurs, it is always in the honorific form, not the non-honorific form.

Variation in the Presence of Reference Honorifics in Different Parts of the Vocabulary

Reference honorifics are not distributed in a random manner in the different semantic areas of languages. While addressee forms tend to occur in commonly used words in many parts of the vocabulary, reference forms appear in semantic domains related to persons, their feelings, and their actions. An examination of the descriptions of types of vocabulary included in reference honorifics will

illustrate these common semantic areas in which honorifics develop. Several experiments using word lists from different languages to compare the vocabulary items that have honorific equivalents will be described below.

Languages vary in the frequency with which they allow words to have reference honorifics. Korean for example, allows almost every verb to take a reference honorific marker, while not allowing any nouns to do so. For other languages there is less extensive elaboration, or there is insufficient evidence. Languages, however, for which descriptions are available turn out to be remarkably similar in the semantic areas in which elaboration takes place.

As described in Chapter 3, not all Japanese nouns or verbs can take honorification. Words related to human beings, human feelings, human actions, and material culture such as meals, furniture, and houses tend to be elaborated, but words related to nature, machinery, and minerals tend to not be elaborated. In Tibetan, there is variation in the honorification of nouns, and it occurs with clothing, food, living, tools, human relationships, and mental feelings. Honorifics tend not to occur in semantic areas related to astronomy, earth, minerals, animals, and plants (Kitamura, 1974:72). Variation in Japanese occurs among both nouns and verbs. Reference honorifics are person

centered, including human parts and vital functions, clothes, and items a person ordinarily carries with him. Verbs describing human activities are included, e.g., bathing, sleeping, sitting, standing, eating, walking, thinking, speaking, etc. (Uhlenbeck, 1970:449). Madurese is similar in that honorifics occur for parts of the body, its activities, clothing, some personal effects and possessions, sense impressions, and pronouns (Stevens, 1965:296). In Australian languages where mixed reference, addressee, and bystander forms may occur, honorification tends to occur for body parts, human actions, and states of the body, including seeing, speaking, hearing, bodily movement, sleep, and sickness, etc. Also, some words related to animals, food, plants, and weather have honorific equivalents (Haviland, 1979b:392).

Other languages are described as having honorific elaboration in similar semantic areas. Samoan honorifics occur with parts of the body, bodily positions, functions, conditions, and movements, as well as objects that come into close contact with humans: garments, bedding, and food, etc. (Milner, 1961:302). In Ponapean, honorification is used primarily with "names of body parts and verbs marking states of body, and bodily activities, and other items." (Garvin and Riesenberg, 1952:218-220). Finally, Poppe (1970:485) mentions that for Mongolian the body and its parts, birth and death, dwellings, transportation,

and actions such as eating and sleeping are areas where honorifics occur.

These eight languages show an amazing degree of similarity in the semantic domains in which honorification occurs. Parts of the human body and material items associated with people (e.g., clothes and food) are elaborated among nouns; and human activities (e.g., eating, speaking, and going) are elaborated among verbs. This can be stated as an implicational universal: if non-human centered nouns/verbs have honorific forms, then human centered ones do too; but human centered honorific forms can exist without non-human centered ones.

Some difference can also be observed in the semantic areas in which honorification occurs. For example, Guugu Yimidhirr has honorific equivalents for animals, but Tibetan does not (except for "dog").⁸ Different cultures also have different items which would also cause differences. For example, Tibetan and Japanese culture have certain religious functionaries that are not present in some other societies such as Java. In spite of these significant differences, similarities in the semantic areas in which honorifics are elaborated can be observed in different languages.

8. Part of the reason for this difference may be the fact that Tibetan has reference honorifics, but Guugu Yimidhirr may have reference, addressee, and bystander types mixed together.

To augment this impressionist assessment a sample vocabulary was measured to determine the relative percentages of honorific equivalents in three languages. (See Tables 8,9, and 10.) Two one hundred word lists of nouns in English, taken from a Tibetan glossary (Goldstein and Nornang, 1970) were compared with Japanese and Javanese. One list had honorific equivalents, the other did not. Consultants were asked to add where possible the Japanese honorific prefixes o/go, or the Javanese Krama equivalent.

Table 8. Percentage of Japanese and Javanese Words with Honorific Equivalents on Two Lists of Nouns Translated from Tibetan

Consultant	From Tibetan Nouns With Honorific Forms	From Tibetan Nouns Without Honorific Forms	Difference
Japanese	35%	11%	24%
Javanese	67%	61%	6%

The findings (see Table 8) indicate that honorific elaboration in Tibetan is similar to Japanese elaboration, but not Javanese. About one-fourth more of the words on the Tibetan honorific list can be honorifics when translated into Japanese than on the Tibetan non-honorific list. The Javanese results, however, indicate that there is no

significant similarity of honorific elaboration between Javanese and Tibetan.

Part of the explanation for these results may be the fact that different kinds of honorifics are involved. Tibetan honorifics are almost all reference based, whereas Javanese honorifics are mostly addressee based. In Japanese, both reference and addressee types are present. Since the starting point was Tibetan honorifics which are reference based, and since some Japanese noun honorifics are also reference based, about 24% more of the words from the one list could take honorification in Japanese. However, since Tibetan and Javanese represent reference and addressee types, respectively, there is no significant association between the words that are elaborated in the two languages for each list.

Another test was conducted using two lists of Japanese verbs, and asking a Dzongkha speaker to determine how many of these verbs had honorific equivalents in his language. (See Table 9.) From the four hundred eighty-six verbs that were analyzed in Chapter 3, thirty-five that could never take honorification (list two), and thirty-six that could become reference honorifics (list one) were used.

The rather striking results demonstrate similarity between elaboration of honorific verbs in Japanese and

Table 9. Percentage of Dzongkha Verbs With
Honorific Equivalents on Two Lists
Translated From Japanese

From Japanese Verbs With Honorific Forms	From Japanese Verbs Without Honorific Forms	Difference
31%	0%	31%
no.=36	no.=35	

Table 10. Percentage of Japanese Verbs With
Reference Honorific Equivalents on
Two Lists Translated From Javanese

From Javanese Verbs Actor Reference Honorifics	From Javanese Verbs With No Reference Honorifics	Difference
98%	82%	16%
no.=48	no.=50	

Dzongkha. Over 30% of the verbs that could be honorifics in Japanese could also be in translation honorifics in Dzongkha, and none of the verbs that could not be reference honorifics in Japanese could be honorifics in Dzongkha.

A third test involved the level of elaboration in Japanese on two lists of fifty verbs from a Javanese glossary (Horne, 1963). One list had actor reference honorifics, and the other had non-honorifics. (See Table 10.) The high percentage in both columns reflects the fact that Japanese has thousands of verbs that can become actor reference honorifics, while Javanese contains only several hundred.

These simple tests are not exact since words in different languages do not have precisely the same meanings. Translating through English adds to the potential difference in meaning between the words from the two languages. However, both lists were treated in the same way so the error factor should be spread evenly and not significantly affect the results. In spite of these problems, significant similarities in honorification exist between languages. This demonstrates that languages tend to develop honorifics in certain semantic domains as opposed to others.

This is not to suggest that there is an inevitable movement word by word through the lexicon. Rather, there are certain semantic domains related to humans (e.g., body parts, material objects associated with persons, human actions, and feelings, etc.) where the elaboration of reference honorifics is much higher than in other semantic areas (e.g., minerals or machinery). There are obviously differences in the material cultures associated with the different languages, and this affects honorific elaboration. In spite of these differences, there is a significant correlation between the words that have honorific equivalents in the different languages. These findings support the hypothesis that reference honorifics spread through the vocabulary of languages in a similar way.

Honorific Universals and Language Change

Greenberg in his state-process model (1978) has proposed that language universals and language change are related. This model involves examining the synchronic types within languages and then asking how languages may move from one state to another. In the case of honorifics some languages have highly developed systems, and other languages have only rudimentary systems. By examining the differential elaboration of honorifics in several languages it is possible to chart the changes that can occur through time in any language.

Several synchronic universals here can be related to language change. This section will examine the relationship of the synchronic universals to reference and addressee types, followed by a discussion of addressee and bystander type honorifics and *bikago*, 'beautification language.' Then at least one way in which honorifics appear and disappear in languages will be suggested.

Reference and Addressee Honorifics

One synchronic universal noted in this dissertation is that reference honorifics are more widely present than addressee honorifics, and the latter always presuppose the presence of the former. Following Greenberg's model, this means that reference honorifics always appear first in a language at any level before addressee honorifics.

There is also some historical evidence to support this view. Dasher (1981:34) gives a detailed description of changes in Japanese honorifics, and finds that "when items shift in function they usually move from being reference based to addressee based."⁹ Stevens (1965:301) makes a similar observation of language change in Madurese where words that were originally reference honorifics are

9. Dasher's (1981) additional observation that reference type humble forms in Japanese become addressee honorifics does not fit the synchronic data from every language in this sample. For example, Korean does not appear to have humble reference honorific forms, but does have extensive addressee honorifics.

now addressee honorifics. Another well documented example comes from Tamil. Levinson (1977:55-57) shows that reference honorific pronouns develop from what were originally plural forms, and addressee honorifics are derived from reference forms. These historical observations of language change related to honorific types fit the synchronic observations made of languages in this sample, that if a language has addressee honorifics, then it always has reference forms, but not vice versa.

Addressee and Bystander Honorifics

Less information is available concerning the relationship of addressee and bystander honorifics, and any observations will be of necessity somewhat speculative until more data becomes available.

In several languages it was observed that bystander honorifics presuppose the presence of addressee honorifics. Perhaps bystander honorifics develop out of addressee honorifics, but additional evidence is necessary. It appears that bystander honorifics are a more extreme kind of addressee form, and the next step would be avoidance. In Javanese, it is only the presence of royalty that triggers these honorifics; and in some Australian languages ordinary forms are used with some persons, addressee/ bystander forms are used with some persons, and the avoidance of speaking is necessary in the presence of some

persons. The honorifics can function as addressee forms in speaking to some persons (e.g., brother-in-law), but for the more taboo person (e.g., mother-in-law) the same honorific forms may be used only as bystander honorifics, and not as addressee honorifics.

There may also be several routes for addressee honorifics to become ordinary forms. One occurs when addressee (or reference) honorific forms become solely a marker of speaker politeness. If everyone begins to use the respect forms, they cease being respect forms and become unmarked ordinary forms. This happened to a number of Japanese words (e.g., ocha, 'tea;' and gohan, 'rice') where the honorific prefix o/go has become part of the now ordinary forms.

Changes in Parts of Speech

Honorifics appear and develop in similar ways among languages. This appears to be true for reference, addressee, and possibly bystander honorifics. It is also true for the parts of speech in which honorifics occur in a language. It was observed that reference honorifics appear in the following implicational order:

Naming → pronouns → verbs → nouns → other

The appearance of addressee honorifics may optionally occur first in particles followed by verbs and then nouns.

This sequence seems to hold for all the languages examined here.

As honorifics spread through a language, the elaboration of honorific lexical markers or the elaboration of words that will take honorific morphological markers occurs in the same manner. That is, words in certain semantic domains are more likely to become reference honorifics than words in other semantic areas. Honorifics tend to appear in semantic domains related to persons, objects associated with them, and their actions.

Summary: A Cycle of Honorific Change

Figure 5 summarizes how honorifics may appear and disappear in languages. This pattern is not meant to be exhaustive, but rather illustrative of some of the ways honorific forms appear and disappear through time.

It would appear that there is a kind of pressure or set of circumstances that provide the power to run the cycle. (The nature of these circumstances will be discussed more in Chapter 5.) If a language has some incentive to form honorifics, the first to appear will be lexical forms related to naming persons and pronouns. As the "pressure" towards reference honorifics continues, honorific forms will appear among verbs, then nouns, and in other parts of speech. Parallel to that development is the spread of honorifics from reference to addressee to

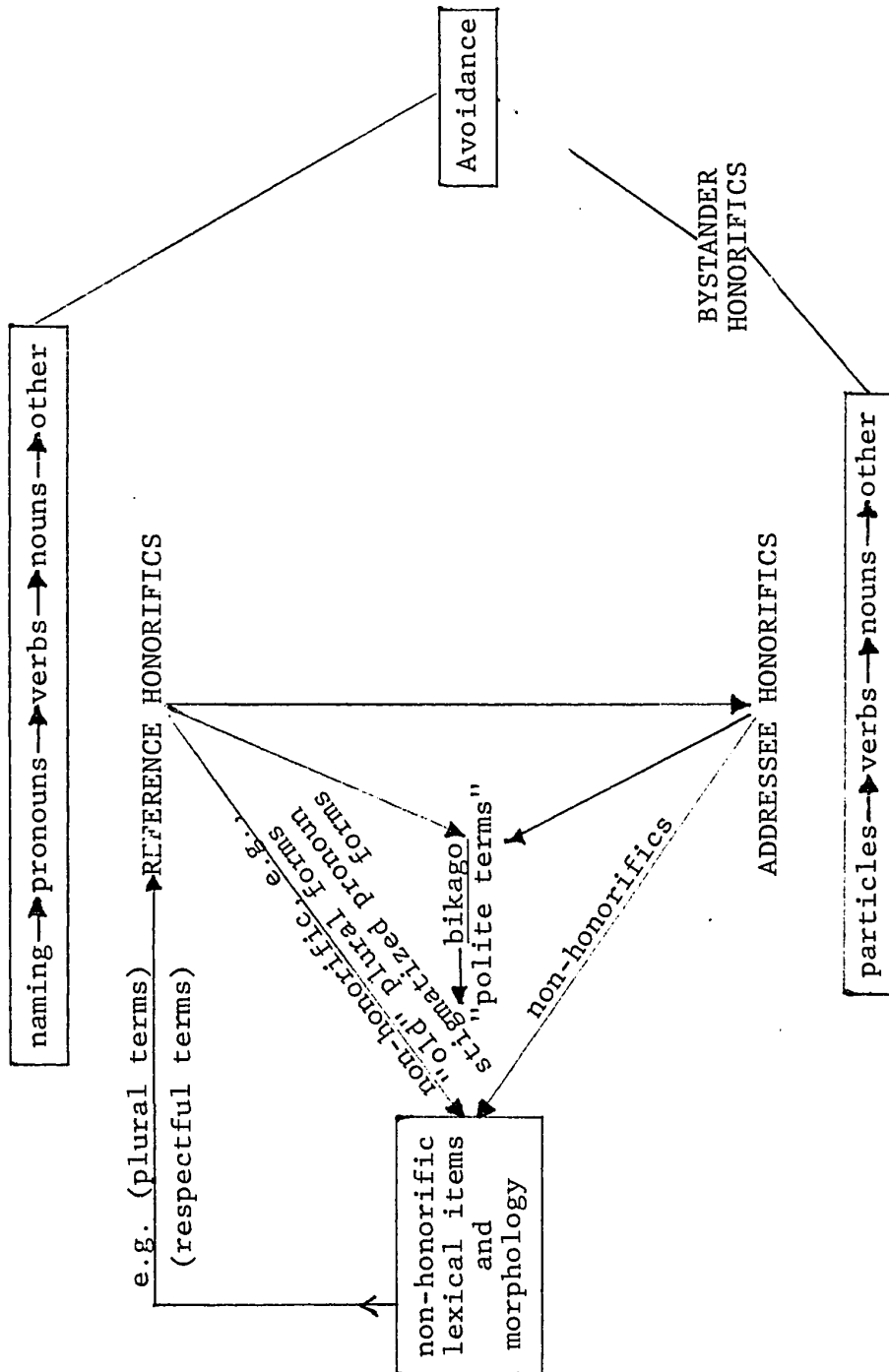


Figure 5. Some changes that occur in honorific forms through time

bystander types. At the level of naming and second person pronouns, we have the intersection of reference and addressee honorifics. After that, addressee honorifics can appear in particles. After reference honorifics have appeared in verbs and nouns, addressee forms can also appear in verbs and nouns, respectively. As the pressure increases bystander honorifics may occur, and beyond that avoidance of communication takes place, as in Australian mother-in-law languages or as in second person pronouns to superiors. Avoidance is the extreme form of politeness.

Honorifics also lose their respectfulness, or shift in function (Dasher, 1981:34). Reference honorifics lose some of their "old" plural forms, and honorific pronoun forms become stigmatized (Levinson, 1977) as new plural forms and respectful terms become reference honorifics. Other reference honorifics become addressee forms. Some addressee forms and reference forms become politeness markers (e.g., Japanese bikago) and lose their original respect meaning. The cycle then moves to the production of new reference honorifics, some of which again become ordinary forms or addressee honorifics which in turn can become ordinary forms.

Proposed Honorific Universals

From this study of eleven honorific systems, several possible universal principles emerge.

1. Honorific forms are the marked forms for every language.
2. Neutralization of semantic distinctions between ordinary forms at times occurs for honorifics, but the converse does not seem to be true.
3. The presence of non-actor reference honorifics presupposes the presence of actor reference forms.
4. For reference honorifics, elaboration occurs in the following implicational order:
 naming → pronouns → verbs → nouns → other
5. The presence of honorific forms in non-human centered verbs and nouns presupposes the presence of such forms for human centered verbs (e.g., eating, speaking) and nouns (e.g., food, clothing), but human centered honorific forms can exist without non-human centered ones.
6. The presence of addressee honorifics presupposes the presence of reference forms at different levels in language.
 - a. Addressee particles do not appear unless there are at least reference honorifics in terms of address and pronouns.
 - b. Addressee verb forms do not appear unless there are reference verb forms.
 - c. Addressee noun forms do not appear unless there are reference noun forms.

7. When addressee honorifics appear in a certain part of of the language (e.g., verbs), then the same or a greater number of words can become addressee honorifics compared to reference honorifics.

Possible explanations for the existence of the universals, and factors governing honorific elaboration, will be investigated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS FOR HONORIFIC AND LANGUAGE UNIVERSALS

Several language universals were discussed in Chapter 2, and the study of eleven honorific systems in Chapters 3 and 4 permitted the identification of numerous universals. These honorifics form part of the politeness phenomenon which can be observed in language usage, and these forms are directly related to the sociolinguistic universals discussed in Chapter 2. Honorific universals are also similar to other language universals to varying degrees in their possible origins and function in the language.

Explanations for language universals commonly focus on either detailed or general cognitive processes or common human social interaction. As will be seen in this chapter, all of these processes must be invoked to adequately account for language universals. Universals such as color terminology cannot be explained without detailed cognitive processes (innate hypothesis). Sociolinguistic universals cannot be explained without considering common discourse strategies such as face redress. Honorific universals cannot be explained without considering general

cognitive processes such as markedness theory and the hierarchy of accessibility. Not all of these processes can be used in every situation, but several are frequently needed to account for a particular universal.

In addition to accounting for language universals, factors affecting the presence or absence of honorifics in languages will be examined in this chapter. These include the type of societal ideology and organization, common historical circumstances, and areal phenomena. The degree of honorific elaboration in a particular language is determined, at least in part, by the function of honorifics in that language. Function refers to the process whereby a change in one part of the grammar leads to compensatory change in other parts. For example, the grammar of any language must allow the identity of NPs to be disambiguated for discourse to take place. A functional analysis can demonstrate the different ways languages identify NPs and how the presence or absence of one NP identification technique is related to the presence or absence of other techniques (Heath, 1975, 1978). If honorification takes on the function of disambiguating NPs in a language, then honorifics may become more extensive. This functional approach provides one way to account for the degree of elaboration of honorifics in a language.

Possible explanations for honorific universals will be examined below. Following this the origins of sociolinguistic universals will also be studied since they contribute to our understanding of honorifics usage. Similar explanations for several other language universals will also be suggested. Finally, the different factors that interact to determine the extent of honorification in a language will be illustrated.

Origins of Honorific Universals

The universals analyzed here focus on the honorific forms and the presence and absence of particular types. It is possible to divide the seven universals identified in Chapter 4 into three groups: the first two deal with marking and neutralization of semantic distinctions, and apply equally to reference and addressee honorifics. The next three pertain only to reference honorifics, and the final two involve the relationship between reference and addressee types of honorifics.

Universals Affecting Both Reference and Addressee Honorifics

1. Honorific forms are the marked forms for every language.
2. Neutralization of semantic distinctions between ordinary forms at times occur for honorifics, but the converse does not seem to be true.

"Markedness" has been used by Greenberg (1966b) and others (Witkowski and Brown, 1978; and Clark and Clark, 1978) to explain pairs of words where the unmarked form is more salient and is used more frequently than its marked counterpart. Because they occur more frequently, unmarked words are usually less morphologically complex than their marked counterpart. In the area of honorifics, it is the "ordinary" equivalents which are unmarked. Children tend to acquire the ordinary forms first. When a marked form becomes the more frequently used word (e.g., Japanese gohan, 'rice'); then it ceases to be an honorific in practice even though it contains an honorific marker (go).

This pattern of "markedness" can be observed rather widely in language and appears to be based on general human learning principles. For example, Greenberg (1966b) found the first word of lexical pairs of opposites of spatial terms to be unmarked cross-linguistically: high/low, deep/shallow, and thick/thin. In addition, plural is marked, and singular unmarked in every language. The same observation has been made of positive and negative, the positive always being unmarked even in mathematics (e.g., 5 is unmarked, but -5 is marked) (Greenberg, 1966b:26). Present tense is always unmarked in relation to future tense and usually in relation to past tense (Clark and Clark, 1978). In each case the

unmarked form occurs more frequently, and the marked forms are more complex. Honorific forms as the marked category fit this widely occurring regularity that exists in languages.

The neutralization of semantic distinctions between ordinary forms upon honorification differs from the semantic neutralization that takes place in some unmarked forms. For example, in the case of "man"/"woman," the unmarked term "man" can serve as a generic term including both men and women, or as a term for a man as opposed to a woman. In this case the unmarked term has two meanings with the neutralized one covering both words. In the case of honorifics, however, two or more unmarked ordinary words of different but related meanings can match one marked honorific equivalent. Thus, Japanese irassharu (honorific) corresponds to three ordinary verbs: iru, 'to be,' iku, 'go,' and kuru, 'come.'

The observed regularity in the first universal can be explained, at least partially, by common cognitive processing. According to "markedness" theory, the unmarked form of a pair of words will have certain characteristics (e.g., it will be morphologically less complex). Humans appear to process "opposites" in such a way that one form is more dominant than the other form. Forms that are used more frequently tend to be shortened over time. That

would appear to be caused by general learning processes that humans possess.

The second universal can also be explained on the basis of markedness theory. Greenberg (1966b:27) cites syncretization as a process which helps distinguish marked and unmarked forms. Syncretization refers to the process where semantic distinctions of unmarked forms are lost through neutralization in the marked forms. In the case of honorifics (the marked category) semantic distinctions between related words tend to be lost while being maintained in the ordinary unmarked forms. This is similar to Greenberg's example from the Hausa language which has two genders. The gender distinction is maintained in the unmarked singular but neutralized in the marked plural.

The first universal says that honorific forms are marked. Frequency of occurrence seems to explain why opposites often have marked and unmarked forms. Thus, honorifics, being less frequently used than their ordinary equivalents, are the marked forms. The second universal, that semantic distinctions between honorifics tend to collapse, also results from general marking principles. As the less frequently used forms, honorifics do not maintain the semantic distinctions as well as the more common ordinary forms. These two universals appear to reflect common human cognitive or learning processes.

Universals Affecting Reference Honorifics

3. The presence of non-actor reference honorifics presupposes the presence of actor reference forms.
4. For reference honorifics, elaboration occurs in the following implicational order:
naming→pronouns→verbs→nouns→other
5. The presence of honorific forms in non-human centered verbs and nouns presupposes the presence of such forms for human centered verbs (e.g., eating, speaking) and nouns (e.g., food, clothing), but human centered honorific forms can exist without non-human centered ones.

According to the third universal, languages are more likely to have actor triggered honorification than non-actor triggered honorification. The actor, which is usually the subject of a sentence, is more readily available for honorification than other grammatical relations such as the direct or indirect object. This hierarchy of accessibility that allows actor honorification in any language containing non-actor honorification is also found in relation to other grammatical processes. For example, Keenen and Comrie (1977) have proposed an accessibility hierarchy for the formation of relative clauses, in which these appear first on subject, and then on direct object, followed by indirect object, and so

forth, in an implicational order. Thus the presence of relativization on direct objects in any language indicates its presence on subjects. The predominance of actor honorification over non-actor honorification is simply part of this same process.

This process of hierarchy of accessibility occurs because the subject is more salient than other NP positions. This may also be related to frequency of use since most verbs in a sentence requires a subject, while other NPs are not always required. Whether it is usage frequency or some other factor which causes this hierarchy, common human learning principles seem to underlie the process.

The fourth universals says that reference honorifics are elaborated in the following implicational order:

naming→pronouns→verbs→nouns→other parts
of speech.

One possible explanation for this order is the progressive distancing of semantic domains from the "ideal sphere," Goffman's concept (1956:481) of preserving proper social distance through avoidance rituals. Honorification can be considered one such avoidance ritual. Personal name taboo is the principal means of respecting a person's "ideal sphere," and is closely related to the care that is taken in addressing or referring to persons with naming or pronouns. Verbs and nouns that describe the respected

person's actions and feelings, and the material objects closely associated with him, are the next closest to the "ideal sphere." Honorification follows the same pattern. Some languages also mark other parts of speech, but only if those "closer" to the person, such as naming, pronouns, verbs, and nouns are also affected.

Another possible explanation for the fourth universal is the frequency of use. Naming and pronouns certainly appear more frequently than individual verbs or nouns. Consequently, honorification can occur more readily among more commonly used parts of speech. A further possible explanation involves the distinction between addressee and reference honorifics. Naming and pronouns integrate both types, but they are used separately among verbs and nouns. Consequently, honorifics are more likely to appear in naming and in pronouns first.

The fifth universal states that honorifics develop in semantic areas related to persons. Avoidance rituals and preservation of the "ideal sphere" again provide an explanation for this principle. As honorification spreads through a language, it affects words related to persons. The body and its parts, as well as associated material items, human actions, and feelings are all "close" to a person's "ideal sphere." Consequently, when reference honorifics exist, they appear in those semantic

areas related to persons in greater numbers than random distribution would suggest.¹

For the third universal the hierarchy of accessibility described the implicational order in which different grammatical relations can take relativization or can trigger honorification. In the fourth and fifth universals a hierarchy of accessibility governs honorification in certain parts of speech or certain semantic domains before others. The structure of the hierarchy of accessibility for the third universal has something to do with frequency of occurrence. For the fifth universal, elaboration of honorific vocabulary is determined by how close particular words are to a person's ideal sphere. The fourth universal concerns elaboration of honorifics in different parts of speech, and may be partially explained by frequency of use and also closeness to a person's ideal sphere.

Universals Involving the Relationship Between Reference and Addressee Honorifics

6. The presence of addressee honorifics presupposes the presence of reference forms at different levels in language.

1. Stanley Witkowski suggested to me that there may be a similarity between the inalienable possession hierarchy and the way that honorifics spread through the nouns of a language. Both first affect body parts, kin terms, and things associated with persons (e.g., clothes). However, honorification can spread more widely in a vocabulary than can inalienable possession.

7. When addressee honorifics appear in a certain part of the language (e.g., verbs), the same or a greater number of words can become addressee honorifics compared to reference honorifics.

The differential elaboration of reference and addressee honorifics may partially reflect the different functions that the two have in language. Addressee honorifics function to index the social relationship between speaker and referent. An additional function of reference honorifics--though not of addressee honorifics--is to help disambiguate the identity of NPs in discourse. In English, number and gender help identify the referent; but in languages such as Japanese neither of those distinctions is ordinarily available. However, the presence or absence of actor or non-actor honorific markers among verbs helps identify the NPs by specifying whether the actor (and non-actor) are social superiors or not vis-a-vis the speaker. Addressee honorifics lack that kind of function in language.

This greater functional value of reference honorifics in the grammar may partially explain why reference honorifics appear first in a language and addressee honorifics develop only later. This in turn would explain the origin of the sixth universal. Whereas reference honorifics have referential value in identifying NPs in

discourse, addressee honorifics only index the social relationship of speaker and addressee. Addressee honorifics are dependent on reference honorifics. They can only develop at each level (e.g., in verbs or in nouns) if reference honorifics are already present.

The seventh universal reflects the different ways in which addressee and reference honorifics appear and function in a language. Reference honorifics appear first and are used only for socially superior referent whereas addressee honorifics can affect anything that is said to a socially superior addressee. Reference honorifics are used only with words that can refer to a person, while addressee honorifics can potentially affect all words. In Japanese, for example, hoeru, 'bark,' cannot take a reference honorific form because a person does not bark. However, it can take the addressee honorific form mas because it is possible to talk to a socially superior person about a dog barking.

Universals of honorifics can be explained in a number of ways. Some are the result of general human cognitive processes which can be observed in languages in other areas such as "markedness." Others can be better explained by an analysis of how they reflect sociocultural and linguistic factors.

Origins of Sociolinguistic Universals

Sociolinguistic universals are linked to honorific universals in that they can explain the usage of honorific forms in all societies. Brown and Gilman (1960) studied the use of pairs of second person pronouns in several European languages. They defined the dimensions of power and solidarity, referring to vertical and horizontal social distance respectively. These same two dimensions interact to determine how honorifics should be used. Using T to represent the more intimate pronoun form (e.g., French tu) and V to represent the pronoun used for persons of greater social distance (e.g., French vous), they identified what turned out to be two universals.

1. The same forms that are used to address intimates are also used for inferiors and the same forms used for persons of greater social distance are also used for superiors.
2. Persons using T-T are socially closer to each other than persons using V-V. When T-V is used between two persons, the person giving T is the superior, and the person giving V is the inferior.

All of the languages described in Chapters 3 and 4 fit these two sociolinguistic universals. Thus, the same ordinary forms that are used for intimates are also used for inferiors, and the same honorific forms used for

persons of greater social distance are also used for superiors. Similarly, in an asymmetrical relationship, the person giving the ordinary forms is the superior, and the person giving the honorific forms is the inferior.

In the case of two second person pronouns, T and V are distinct positions. However, the interactional dimension between socially close and socially distant is better viewed as a continuum. In the realm of honorifics, there exists an interchangeable variety of forms that allows speakers to place an utterance on a continuum between T and V.

These two sociolinguistic universals can be related to a possible interactional cultural universal. Goffman (1956) suggests that there is an "ideal sphere" which is placed around a person and which protects his honor. Geertz (1960:255) uses a "wall metaphor" to demonstrate how this ideal sphere functions in Javanese honorific language: "The higher the level of language spoken to an individual, then the thicker the wall of etiquette protecting his emotional life." Two persons using T reciprocally tend to know each other better, and the "wall" protecting their emotional life is thinner than that of two persons using V reciprocally. In T-V relationships the person receiving V has a more protected inner self than the person receiving T. This "wall" metaphor applies not

only to Javanese, but to all of the languages examined in Chapter 4. The "ideal sphere" concept as a cultural universal accounts for the cross-linguistic use of honorifics.

The kind of behavior based on the two dimensions of power (vertical social distance) and solidarity (horizontal social distance) is not limited to language behavior. Levinson (1978:22) mentions the exchange of service (V-type stuff) provided by the inferior and food (T-type stuff) given by the superior that occurs in India and which he compares to the exchange of T-V in language. Levinson (1978:23) and others have also pointed out that a superior may inquire about the inferior's family and activities in a way in which the inferior is not able to reciprocate. To do so would be to claim equality. Other nonverbal behavior such as bowing in Japanese society can be explained in a similar way. There are at least two dimensions involved in bowing, namely the depth of the bow and its length. A deep bow from the waist conveys considerably more respect than a perfunctory nod of the head. The bowing ritual indicates relative rank and degree of solidarity just as does the use of honorifics. The person who uses more honorifics than he receives will be the one who also bows lower. Improper bowing conduct can be just as much an insult as the improper use of honorifics. The

degree of formality may cause more honorifics to be used just as it may cause more elaborate bowing.

In a cross-cultural comparison of personality descriptions, White (1980:776) suggests that the concepts of solidarity and dominance are polar opposites of conflict and submission, and are universal in the folk interpretation of behavior. All languages have terminology that reflects these two dimensions which appear to have important similarities to the semantics of power and solidarity first proposed by Brown and Gilman. These behavior patterns, whether verbal or non-verbal, result from the interface of human social interaction and the universal cognitive structures which underlie this common behavior. Components of both appear to be necessary to account for this universal human behavior which affects practices as diverse as food exchange in India, bowing in Japan, and the use of first name or name with title in Anglo societies. Language behavior and other cultural behavior cannot be divided at this point without loss of significant generalizations about human behavior. Some psychological processes seem to govern certain ways that persons relate to one another in vertical and horizontal social distance. Honorifics therefore index those relationships which are based on cultural universals.

A third sociolinguistic universal has been proposed by Levinson (1978:17):

3. T-T will tend to be used more in the lower strata of many societies, and V-V or T-V will be more prevalent in the upper strata.

No statistical evidence from this present study is available to support this universal. However, the consultants reported that honorific usage in their languages fits this universal.

Levinson (1978:26) suggests that this results from a different quality of relationship among the lower strata where there are more intense horizontal relations compared to the higher strata where vertical relations are relatively more important.

Another explanation of this variation between lower and higher class is the difference of demeanor or presentation of self in the various classes. V usage is positively rated, and the well-mannered person will use the proper respect forms. Persons who consider themselves to be upper class communicate that fact by the speech that they use. According to a consultant from an upper class Japanese family (honke, main line of family), family members always used sama (hyperpolite) rather than the usual san or chan with kin names in addressing or referring to other family members, e.g., okāsama, 'mother +

honorific.' This does not mean that feelings in that family are necessarily "more distant" than in any other. It simply means that persons in that family expressed to themselves and others that they were V-type persons.

In socially mobile communities some persons begin using V forms in an attempt to appear to be part of the strata to which they aspire. In that environment, Labovian type hypercorrection may well occur. The reported use of Japanese honorific forms as bikago, 'beautification forms,' would appear to fit this pattern.

Origins of Other Language Universals

There is no single explanation for all honorific and sociolinguistic universals. Rather, a limited set of explanations provides the framework for understanding why language universals exist as they do. These include the detailed cognitive process (innate hypothesis), more general cognitive processes of human learning principles, and sociocultural universals. Up to this point, honorific and sociolinguistic universals have been explained by generalized cognitive processes, like markedness, and by sociocultural factors, such as the operation of power and solidarity. However, in considering other language universals the full set of explanations must be utilized to adequately account for them.

Those Based on Cognitive Processes

One language universal that is based on detailed neural wiring pertains to basic color terms. According to Berlin and Kay (1969) all persons see common color focal points, and all languages encode only eleven or fewer basic color terms. Kay and McDaniel (1978:610) have demonstrated that these color term universals result from the biological structure of the human visual apparatus. While common color terminology is innately based, it can also be noted that societal complexity determines to what extent basic color terms are present in any language. Small scale societies tend to have fewer terms and large urban societies have more basic color terms.

Other language universals, however, are based on cognitive processes that are much more general in nature. Witkowski and Brown (1978) have suggested such general processes as binary opposition, criteria clustering, dimension salience, and marking principles to account for universals of botanical life forms and folk zoological forms. Some of those same processes can also be used to explain universals such as binary opposites: deep/shallow and big/small, etc. They represent the human tendency to label a continuum by the two extremes. The first of each pair is unmarked and has greater salience for speakers than the second of each pair. Universals of human anatomical

terminology can be partially explained by some of these same cognitive processes. Two of those universals were (Anderson, 1978:352):

- 1) "a label for foot implies a separate term for hand;" and
- 2) "terms for individual toes imply terms for individual fingers."

These might be explained by the principle of salience. A hand or finger is more salient than a foot or toe. Thus, terms for hand and fingers are unmarked compared to terms for foot and toes which are marked.

Those Based on Processes Involving Cultural Universals

Lexical universals can also reflect common cultural practices. Universals of cooking terms such as "boiling" (Lehrer, 1974:164-165) are of this nature. It is a cultural universal that people need to eat food, and cooking is one way to make some foods more palatable. The fact that "boiling" appears in almost every language simply reflects the utility of boiling water as a mechanism for cooking. There are many other ways to cook food beside boiling, which accounts for the non-boiling domain being divided next.

There are certain activities (e.g., eating, sleeping, and walking) for which every language has lexical

items. All languages have lexical items to describe those activities, not because those activities are innately existing in the human brain, but because those activities are basic to living. Cooking universals are of a similar nature and reflect the common practices of cooking found in almost all societies.

It is, therefore, plain that language universals do not have a single common explanation. Some, such as color terms, can be explained biologically. For many language universals, however, general cognitive learning principles can best account for universal ways in which naming occurs in certain semantic domains. And some language universals can best be explained as a reflection of cultural universals, such as cooking terms. These general cognitive learning principles and cultural regularities help in the process of understanding the origins of honorific universals.

Factors Governing the Extent of Honorific Elaboration

Honorifics do not appear in all languages, at least not to the same degree. Why do some languages have honorifics and not others? And why are they elaborated to different degrees in the languages in which they are present? Answering these questions may point toward an understanding for some of the reasons for the varying

occurrence of particular grammatical features in some languages.

Honorifics develop similarity in all languages in which they appear. Part of the reason for this common development is universal cognitive processes and behavior patterns. (The latter may also be ultimately based on the common cognitive processes of the species.) However, these cognitive and cultural explanations do not explain why honorifics are more extensive in some languages than in others. Five possible explanations will be discussed here: historical factors, areal factors, societal complexity, social structure, and discourse functions. Not all of the relevant information for the eleven languages and societies discussed in this study is available, but that which is suggests some of the factors that may affect how extensively honorifics are elaborated.

Historical Factors and the Development of Honorifics

Levinson (1977:87) cites the common historical pattern of the presence of a royal court in Japan and Java, both of which have highly developed honorifics. Other societies with a royal court also have extensively developed honorifics. Thailand has a royal court, and the honorific forms in Thai are used to refer to or to address the royal family. Gregerson (1977:164) reports that the

only African honorific system occurs among the Shilluk who have a divine king complex and an extensive noble class. Garvin and Riesberg (1952:203) mention that honorifics in Ponape were used, especially in referring to royalty. If this pattern should be found in other languages, one could say that a royal court can serve as a catalyst for honorific elaboration.

Areal Factors and the Development of Honorifics

The eleven languages in this sample can be informally divided into six geographical areas, and the honorifics occurring in each area appear to be more closely related to each other than to languages from other areas. For example, Kannada, Malayalam, and Hindi of the Indian subcontinent all have reference honorifics which can be formed by plural markers and some lexical items. They do not contain addressee honorifics among verbs or nouns, as is the case with reference honorifics. Another group is represented by Javanese and Madurese which have very similar lexical addressee and reference honorifics. Tibetan and Dzongkha also appear to have similar honorific systems. Both use primarily lexical honorifics, and both use primarily reference based honorifics. Addressee honorifics appear only among particles. The Thai language is geographically isolated in this sample, but its honorific system is undoubtedly similar to those in other

Southeast Asian languages. Japanese and Korean also have some similarities in their honorific systems. Both have morphological honorific markers, and both reference and addressee honorifics. Guugu Yimidhirr's elaboration of mother-in-law forms is very similar to that reported for other Australian languages. All of those mother-in-law forms function as bystander honorifics.

In addition to these six areal groupings, others can be identified. Brown and Gilman (1960) describe how second person pronouns changed in a similar way in Western Europe in a number of languages over centuries of time. Gregerson (1977:162-165) describes African languages which do not have extensive honorifics (except Shilluk).

Linguistic similarities within these groupings may result from their genetic relation and/or the practice of borrowing. Another significant factor, causing similar honorific systems to develop in particular geographical areas, is the presence of a similar social structure and level of societal complexity. In a number of these groupings, we can observe a common social development. For example, Hindi, Malayalam, and Kannada are all subject to the influence of India's caste system. Brown and Gilman's description of the common development and change of honorifics among pronouns in European languages shows that

this parallels social change as feudalism gave way to the Industrial Revolution.

Societal Complexity and the Development of Honorifics

It is possible to rank societies on a scale from simple to complex (e.g., Witkowski and Burris, 1981). Small scale and large scale societies may develop honorifics in different ways. The single small scale society included in this sample of languages, Guugu Yimidhirr, has an honorific system that is different from the other languages because it is based exclusively on kinship factors. The presence of certain in-laws triggers the bystander honorifics. No other language in this sample limits honorific usage in similar ways. More information about honorifics in smaller scale societies is needed (if, in fact, they are found to exist) before the correlation between societal complexity and honorific development can be examined.

Social Structure and the Development of Honorifics

A number of scholars have suggested that the social structure of a society determines whether or not honorifics appear in a language. Thus, a rigid hierarchically ordered society is much more likely to have non-kinship based honorifics than an egalitarian society (Aberle and Austin,

1951). Friedrich (1966) demonstrates from changes in Russian terminology that social change is the independent variable and language change or lexical change the dependent variable.

One of the significant factors determining the presence or absence of honorifics in a language is the structure of the society. All the languages in this sample belong to societies with rather elaborate vertical social structure (except Guugu Yimidhirr). One of the more rigid vertically arranged social systems is found in India, and this is reflected in the honorifics of Malayalam, Kannada, and Hindi. Japan and Korea have less rigid but still vertically arranged societies where the predominant ideology favors a hierarchical arrangement of persons. Brown and Levinson (1978:310) ask, "Why...do Indian languages have much less developed (honorific) systems than Japanese, despite the much more rigid and elaborate system of social stratification in India?" The answer may be found in discourse strategies.

Discourse Strategies and the Development of Honorifics

Various discourse strategies have been presented to explain particular features of language. Grice (1975) has shown how persons have common background assumptions which allow them to interpret conversation. Brown and Levinson

(1978) propose "face redress" as a universal interactional strategy that can explain politeness used in several widely scattered, genetically unrelated languages. Heath (1975) has demonstrated how the communicative need in all languages to disambiguate NPs in discourse is related to the grammatical structures of those languages. Heath's functional analysis can also explain the presence of more extensive honorific systems in some languages than in others.

Heath proposes that one functional task for every language is to disambiguate NPs in discourse. Without being able to identify who did what to whom, successful discourse is impossible. Heath identified NPs in one of two ways in his sample of languages through identification rules (e.g., equi noun phrase deletion) or through differing categories within obligatory third person pronouns (e.g., number and gender). He found that if a language had more of one identification method, then it also had less of the other.

If Heath is correct in this functional analysis of the referential identity of NPs, this could explain why some languages develop more extensive honorific systems than others. Honorifics encode status relationships between speaker and referent, but after reference honorifics are present in a language, they can take on the

additional function of disambiguating NPs in discourse. Honorifics provide an additional strategy to identify NPs, and languages with honorifics that help identify NPs are precisely those which do not have distinctions in third person pronouns. Languages with obligatory third person pronouns that distinguish gender, number, and/or case develop less extensive honorific systems. In some languages such as Japanese, NPs are optionally omitted, and the honorific marker on the verb signals the identity of the NP. Japanese also lacks third person pronouns, whereas a language such as Hindi has third person pronouns that distinguish gender, number, and case. Thus, unlike Japanese, Hindi can specify its NPs with the distinctions that are made in those third person pronouns.

The languages in this sample that have the most extensive honorific systems are Japanese, Korean, Javanese, and Madurese. The three Indian languages of Kannada, Malayalam, and Hindi have somewhat less extensive honorific systems which include plural politeness markers, some lexical items, and only a few partially productive verb honorific markers (e.g., Hindi, farmānā). However, a comparison of these two groups shows that none of the four languages in the first group have distinctions in the third person pronouns. Japanese does not have true third person pronouns, and surface NPs are rarely used although name or

other nominal forms can be used if necessary. Korean does not have a third person pronoun (Ramstedt, 1960:46). In Javanese the third person pronoun distinctions do not include gender or number, but are only honorific ones. Madurese has a similar system. The three languages in the second group all distinguish gender, number, and case in third person pronouns which are obligatory.

Why are there more elaborate honorific systems in Japanese, Korean, Javanese, and Madurese compared to the Indian languages when the Indian caste society is ostensibly much more rigidly organized on the vertical plane? The answer can be related to Heath's functional component of the referential identity of NPs. Languages that do not have obligatory third person pronouns with distinctions in gender and number are precisely the ones that develop extensive reference honorifics which partially fill the function of identifying NPs in discourse. Languages with third person pronouns that include distinctions in gender and number develop honorifics using the plural marker, but honorifics do not spread as extensively through the language because there is little need for them in disambiguating NPs.

Summary of Honorific Elaboration Variables

Honorifics that extend beyond the kinship realm appear in languages as a result of pressure generated by a

hierarchically organized social structure. The predominant ideology of such a society reflects its vertically organized structure. The degree of societal complexity also appears to affect the type of honorifics. Small scale societies often are organized on the basis of kinship, and honorifics develop accordingly. In larger scale societies, people organize in other ways (e.g., status). In some of these societies certain social institutions such as royal courts may provide a source for the development of honorifics. The development of similar honorific systems in the same geographical area indicates that the larger social system may be the independent variable affecting that development.

Along with these external factors, different types of language structure also affect the degree to which honorifics are elaborated in a language. Languages are not necessarily like blank sheets of paper when social pressure is applied to them. Rather, the language structure that already exists influences what shape the pressure towards honorification will take in a particular language.

One functional pressure on a language is the disambiguation of NPs in discourse. Honorifics in some languages function to identify NPs. Those languages with the most elaborate honorifics are those without distinctions in third person pronouns. Those languages with less

elaborated systems have gender, number, and case distinctions in the third person pronouns. Those distinctions allow NPs to be distinguished so there is less pressure on the language to have a highly developed honorific system.

Honorifics appear in a language as a result of pressure from the social system. However, it does not take a very elaborate system of honorifics to adequately mark the social relationships. More extensive elaboration of honorifics occurs because of other functional pressures on the language such as NP disambiguation.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY

This dissertation has sought to identify some possible universals of honorific forms in languages, and to explain the existence of those universals. A detailed description of the extensive honorific elaboration in Japanese permitted the identification of categories and an examination of the restrictions that account for the internal variability in the language parts containing honorifics. A contrasting description of honorific systems in ten other languages identified universals and cross-linguistic variability in the elaboration of forms. Data from those eleven languages explained how honorifics appear and spread through languages. This approach suggested that an adequate explanation for language universals requires the recognition of cognitive processes as well as the interaction of language and culture.

Major Findings on Honorification

The major findings of this study can be classed in three parts. First, an examination of Japanese honorifics indicates certain restrictions governing which parts of the

vocabulary are elaborated. Secondly, universals can be deduced from the eleven honorific systems examined. Lastly, honorifics and their degree of elaboration can be related to language change.

Japanese Honorifics

In Japanese, addressee honorific forms attach to all verbs, but reference forms only attach to some verbs and nouns. Whether or not words have reference honorific equivalents depends primarily on semantic factors, although a few lexical and phonological factors must also be considered. Most of these restrictions are tendencies which apply to both verbs and nouns. On the semantic level, verbs involving human actions and nouns related to humans are likely to have honorific equivalents. For most speakers, the actor or non-actor NPs must be human for honorification to occur. Less significant factors are the tendency of less commonly used words and words of foreign origin not to become honorifics, and the tendency of nouns and verbs beginning with "o" not to accept the o/go honorific prefix.

There is a hierarchy of accessibility governing the grammatical relations and frequency of honorification in various parts of speech. For both verbs and nouns, actor honorifics (subjects) appear more frequently than honorifics in other grammatical relations. More extensive

elaboration of reference honorifics is present in naming and pronouns than in other parts of speech. More reference honorifics occur among verbs than nouns, and there are more honorific types that attach to verbs. However, the more polite or respectful the honorific form, the fewer the number of verbs that will attach to it.

Honorific Universals

Some observed regularities among honorific forms apply to reference, addressee, and bystander types. Honorific forms are always marked and consequently are generally more morphologically complex than the unmarked ordinary equivalents. In addition, neutralization of semantic distinctions among ordinary forms occurs at times upon honorific forms. Thus, one honorific form can cover for two or more ordinary forms.

Other regularities apply only to reference honorifics. These appear in semantic domains related to humans, and the elaboration of honorific forms occurs in a certain implicational order. Naming (e.g., with titles) occurs first, followed by the elaboration of pronouns, verbs, nouns, and other parts of speech. All languages containing reference honorifics appear to elaborate parts of speech in that order.

Still other universals pertain to the difference between types of honorifics. For each part of speech,

reference honorifics always appear before addressee types. For example, reference honorifics appear on verbs before addressee honorifics. The same is true for nouns. However, addressee honorifics tend to be generalized to more vocabulary items than is the case for reference honorifics. Among reference honorifics, the presence of non-actor forms always indicates the presence of actor forms.

Honorifics and Language Change

The evolution of honorific forms can be observed in one of two ways. One follows Greenberg's model of examining the synchronic types among languages, and then studying the movement of a language from one state to another. The other method involves observing historical change in honorification in particular languages. The use of both approaches provides the opportunity to observe a number of changes in honorific systems. For example, the coupling of historical data with the synchronic observation that reference honorifics always appear before addressee honorifics indicates that addressee honorifics develop from reference honorifics. As already noted, reference honorifics tend to appear in an implicational order according to part of speech and semantic area. The disappearance of honorifics from a language undoubtedly occurs in the reverse order. For example, honorification

pertaining to a person and his actions appears first and disappears last.

Reference honorifics can lose their "respectfulness" or can shift in function over time. For example, plural type honorifics tend to lose their respect meaning and are replaced by new plural forms which become honorific. Sometimes an honorific pronoun becomes stigmatized as a new form replaces it. A shift in function occurs when a reference honorific becomes an addressee or beautification form.

Reasons for the Presence of Honorific Universals

The underlying reason for the existence of language universals is that users of language belong to the same species. All humans have common cognitive processes and common cultural practices which account for universals.

In honorific forms certain more generalized cognitive processes such as "markedness" and degree of salience can be observed. Common cultural practices (which may ultimately derive from common cognitive processes) can be related to honorific universals. For example, the concepts of power and solidarity can be used to describe a cultural universality of personal relationships both linguistically and non-linguistically. Furthermore, common discourse strategies in "face redress" can be used to account for

politeness usage across cultures, and honorific forms can consequently be identified as frozen politeness strategies.

Different languages elaborate honorifics to different extents. The presence of honorifics in more complex societies depends on a vertically organized social structure and ideology. This is sometimes associated with a larger scale society containing such institutions as a royal court. Honorific systems tend to be similar within a geographical area. This may reflect a common social system in that region. The internal structure of a language may also affect the extent of honorification. If reference honorifics in a given language serve to disambiguate NPs in discourse, they are elaborated to a greater extent than in languages where they only index social relationships.

Additional Research Possibilities

A study of the historical development of honorifics in various languages would significantly contribute to the substantiation or modification of the results of this present study. Such research would permit a better understanding of the process of change in honorifics.

Further research should focus on cognitive and cultural universals and their correlation. The various functional pressures on languages that may explain the presence and absence of certain features of grammar also need to be identified and described.

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